THE CONNEXION OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT WITH THE Superstitious and Idolatrous CUSTOMS AND RITES OF THE NATIVES OF INDIA,

STATED AND EXPLAINED.

WITH A LARGE APPENDIX OF DOCUMENTS.

BY A LATE RESIDENT IN INDIA.

LONDON:
HATCHARD AND SON, PICCADILLY; NISBET, BERNERS STREET;
SEELEYS, FLEET STREET; CROFTS, CHANCERY LANE.

1838.

Price, Three Shillings.

~~III. 4944~~
Ind 2014.35

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LONDON: PRINTED BY RICHARD WATTS,
Crown Court, Temple Bar.

CONNEXION

OF

THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY'S GOVERNMENT

WITH THE

SUPERSTITIOUS AND IDOLATROUS CUSTOMS

&c. &c.

THIS subject has now been for some years before the public, in England and in India. The discussions in Parliament relative to the admission of Christian Missionaries to our native subjects, and those at the East-India House relative to the abolition of Suttee, and of the Pilgrim Tax of Juggernaut, brought to light proofs of the connexion of the Indian Government with the superstitious rites and customs of the Natives, which rendered it indispensable that measures should at length be taken to discontinue a state of things alike inconsistent with the character of a Christian Nation and the dictates of sound policy.

Accordingly, the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, on the 20th of February 1833, forwarded a despatch to their Governor-General in Council at Calcutta, in which the whole system of their administration, in relation to the Hindoo and Mussulman Religious Institutions, was reviewed. The highest praise is due to the Honourable Court for this important document. It displays a perfect understanding of the subject, and abounds with wise and

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statesman-like views of the principles by which the policy of our Indian Administration should be guided. With unanswerable reasoning, it demonstrates the propriety of the measures then ordered to be carried into effect for changing the system of Government in relation to this subject.

The measures in question were not indeed to be adopted instantly, but gradually, with such a regard to circumstances as the discretion of the Local Government should prescribe: the opinion expressed on the occasion being given as a standard to which the practical measures of Government should be directed, rather than as a rule to which they should immediately conform.

Of the wisdom of this precautionary course, considering the particular delicacy of the system of our Indian Administration, there could be no dispute. No steps were therefore taken, by the parties most solicitous for the dissolution of our connexion with the native superstitions, either in this country or in India, to interfere with the calm pursuit of their prescribed duty by the Indian Authorities, during the ensuing three years. At the conclusion of that period, nothing appearing to be even in contemplation for giving effect to the instructions of 1833, a Motion was brought forward at the Court of Proprietors, by Mr. Poynder, with the view of accelerating the execution of the desired measures. Almost simultaneously, a body of the Company's Servants at Madras, and another at Bombay, in conjunction with most of the Clergy of those Presidencies, and all the Protestant Missionaries, presented Memorials to their respective Governments, praying that the Orders conveyed in the Court's Despatch of February 1833 should be carried into effect, chiefly for the relief of the consciences of their Chris-

tian Servants, which are wounded by the performance of duties connected with a system, the continuance of which had been condemned by the Court of Directors.

The following is a copy of Mr. Poynder's motion in the Court of Proprietors:—

> "That, adverting to the Despatch of the Court of Directors, dated the 20th of February 1833, having for its object the withdrawal of the encouragement afforded by Great Britain to the idolatrous worship of India, and also the relinquishment of the revenue hitherto derived from such source, which object does not yet appear to have been accomplished, this Court deems it necessary to recommend to the Court of Directors to adopt such further measures upon the subject as, in their judgment, may appear to be most expedient."

This Motion was carried unanimously. The Chairman of the Court of Directors, in the first instance, stated his intention to oppose the Motion; considering it preferable that the settlement of the subject should be left unfettered in the hands of the Executive. But he eventually withdrew the objection, in deference to the evident feeling of the Proprietors on the subject; and proffered his services, as the organ of communicating the intentions of the General Court to the Indian Governments.

This took place in the month of December 1836; and in February following, a despatch was transmitted to India. But, to the astonishment of the friends of the cause, this document, instead of urging the execution of the measures referred to, re-opened the consideration of the whole question, by calling for reports "on the bearing of the discontinuance of our connexion with the superstitious and idolatrous worship and

customs of the Natives, on the financial interests, the political obligations, and the moral character of our Government"!

Since then, majorities in the Court of Proprietors, on questions connected with the subject, having emboldened the Directors to persist in their retrograde movement, the prayer of the Madras Memorialists, founded on the Directors' own previous opinions, has been refused by the Court, as it had been previously by the Bengal and Madras Governments; and the Indian Governments have, in different instances, adopted a line of proceeding at variance with the Court's instructions of 1833, and of the unanimous Resolution of the Proprietors in 1836.

Under these adverse circumstances, it becomes necessary to inform this Christian Nation of the real nature and position of the contest now pending, between the parties who are labouring to give effect to the better purposes of the Home Authorities, for discontinuing the connexion of the Indian Governments with the Hindoo and Mussulman Rites and Superstitions; and those who, joining in the condemnation of that connexion, and professing to wish for its abolition, obstinately cling to a pernicious system, and meet every attempt or application of conscientious Public Functionaries to execute their own declared intentions with rebukes and punishment—decide any casual occurrence in which the interests of Christianity and Idolatry are concerned, in favour of the latter—revoke every order that would operate to relax the established support given to the superstitious and idolatrous customs of the people—and have even extended the application of the condemned system to the case of persons before exempted, by special arrangement, from its operation.

For this purpose, the following statement of the case has been prepared.

The subject may be classed under three heads:—

I. The interference of the Public Functionaries of the Company in the interior management and ceremonies of the Native Temples—in the appointment of the Officers and Attendants of the Temples—in the presentation of offerings on the part of the Circar (or Company) to the Idols—and in their attendance, on certain great Festivals, as the representatives of the Circar.

II. The compulsory attendance of the Company's Christian European Troops, as well as Natives, as guards of honour at the Hindoo and Mussulman Religious Festivals.

III. The farming or collecting the superstitious offerings to the Hindoo Idols, for the benefit of the Company; and the Taxes on the Worshippers, at certain Temples, for the same object.

To simplify this statement, as far as possible, the details, under the several heads, will be mentioned, and briefly explained, in order; referring to an Appendix for Documents and Facts, illustrative of the general question, or of particular points.

The chief Documents entered in the Appendix consist of—

1. Copy of a Despatch of the Court of Directors to the Governor General, dated February 20, 1833; and of one of February 22, 1837;—from the Parliamentary Papers.

2. Copy of the Madras Memorial, from the same Papers; with the important Appendix to that document, which was not annexed to the Copy printed by Parliament;—and of the Reply.

3. Copy of a Letter from Madras; bringing down the intelligence of the progress of measures connected with the subject, to the month of March last.

4. Copies of separate Papers explanatory of particular points.

First—The interference of the Public Functionaries in the interior management and ceremonies of the Native Temples.

Under the Madras Presidency,

——"the identification of the Government," it is remarked, in the Appendix to the Madras Memorial, "with the idolatry of the country, is so complete, that the endowments of the pagodas are taken under the fiscal management of the Collector of Revenue in each district; public officers are retained in several provinces, whose sole and especial duty it is to see that all the services to the Idols in the district are duly performed, the different attendants at their posts, the vessels, temples, &c. &c. in repair, and to report to the European Officer (the Collector) at the head of the Province. They take no step without reference to that officer; and, in all cases, resort to him for orders. At the larger temples, a special officer is employed, whose duty it is to superintend the particular temple. It must be particularly observed, however, that the authority in every temple, whose office it is to manage the rites and ceremonies of the temple, is the Dharmacarta or Sthallatar (Temple Warden); so that the special officers, Devastañum Peshcars, and Curnums, are Supervisors of the Temple under the Collector.

"And it is notorious, that, at this hour, the pagodas and their idolatrous rites are, under British Rule, officially superintended with an efficiency and care, descending to minute particulars, which they never received, even under the Hindoo Government.

"The extent to which their systematic interference and encouragement (legalised by Regulation VII. of 1827) has been carried (it will be observed from the following extract from a Letter of a former Secretary to the Board of Revenue, dated in 1823) has been long perceived and lamented; and it will be seen from it, that the evils of the system have not been overstated.

"A countenance and support the most unhallowed are given to the abominations of Hindoo Worship, by our own actual management, direction, and control of their fraudulent and impure system, by donations from our Treasuries, and by the countenance and official aid of our public officers, who frequently make offerings and donations in their own name, and (*proh pudor!*) in that of the Company.

"This evil—for I think it is a material stain—is particularly prominent now; and the Collector of Madras is, at this moment, a defendant in the Supreme Court, in an action of trespass, for forcibly taking possession of the jewels of the Idol of Triplicane Pagoda; which he justifies as the proper and necessary act of the Government, to secure them from the depredations of (whom?) the responsible Hindoo Manager (Dharmacarta).—Surely such a case ought to come before the Court, in no other shape than as a suit, on the part of the Hindoo Worshippers, against their own officer, for malversation! A Christian Government and its Officers cannot consistently direct and intermeddle with the administration of Pagoda affairs." *

Further, the provision and application of the supplies of the Idol rest with the Officers of Government †.

The menial servants, down to the prostitutes of the temple, are not appointed without the sanction of the Officers of Government ‡.

The repairs of pagodas are sometimes superintended by the Company's European Engineers §.

With what practices the Public Functionaries become cognisant, in their administration of the Religious

* Madras Memorial, Appendix II. p. 98.

† Ibid. p. 94. ‡ Ibid. pp. 92, 93. § Ibid. p. 96.

affairs of the country, specimens are given in p. 96 from the Appendix of the Madras Memorial, and in p. 119 from the Madras Letter.

As an instance of the regulation of the ceremonies of an Idol of considerable note by the Officers of Government, the Madras Memorial contains the following particulars of the restoration of the worship of the Madras Goddess, under their special management:—

"*Copy of an Official Record of the Ceremony at the Restoration of the Worship and of the Offerings to the Idol Padazier.*

"And then the Padazier (the Idol) was removed out of her room to the outer verandah, where flower-garlands were presented to each of the three following persons: 1. To the Governor; that is, to any person belonging to the Government, &c.

"And after the necessary ceremonies were performed there, the procession moved, and stood near the north gate of Fort (St. George); when the Collector of Madras (the European Officer of Government) sent a gold botto, called 'talee,'* (a necklace), and a piece of red silk cloth, called cooray, with doopa deepun, (incense), which were given to the Goddess; and, at the same time, the Collector presented a red scarlet cloth to the Oochen (attendant priest), and seventeen rupees and eight annas to the bearers of the conveyance; and the baure &c. (the running to and fro with the offering to the Idol) was conducted.'†

Another instance is, the regulation of the great annual festival at Conjeveram, one of the principal temples in the Carnatic. The charge of this pagoda was assumed by a former Collector of the district, and the festival is performed by the Honourable Company. In the year 1824, the Rajah of Mysore requested the

* "The talee is the emblem of union and the marriage-tie. The Idol was the so-called Goddess of Madras; and hence the gift of a talee or marriage necklace is indicative of the closest union. A more direct act of worship could not well be performed."

† Madras Memorial, Appendix II. page 80.

Government to allow him to perform the feast; which was conceded that year; but the following year the Company resumed the office*.

"It should be observed," says the Madras Memorial, "that no similar honour was paid to idolatry under the rule of our Mahomedan predecessors, nor till the country was assumed in full sovereignty by the British Government †."

At this temple, the OFFERINGS of the Public Functionaries to the Idol have been very costly. Particulars are given in the Appendix ‡.

Offerings for rain are made at the temples throughout the country, in seasons of drought, by order of the Public Officer of the district §.

Offerings are made, by public authority, at her annual feast, to the Goddess *Sarawata*, the *Goddess of Wisdom* (the Minerva of Pagan Greece and Rome); when all classes of Hindoos bow down to her; employing, as her representatives or symbols, the several implements with which each gains his subsistence. The Honourable Company's account-books, records, &c. are worshipped in this manner, every year, by their servants, in their cutcheries (offices) ||.

Similar honours are paid, in the Company's offices, to *Genesa, the God of Wisdom*, at his festival**.

Poojah, or worship, is in like manner performed, in the public offices in the provinces, at the *Dussorah* Festival ¶.

The Honourable Court's Despatch to Bengal, of February 1833, refers to this branch of the subject in the following terms, in connexion with the practice at that Presidency:—

* Madras Memorial, App. II. p. 84. † Ibid. p. 84. ‡ Ibid. p. 85.
§ Ibid. p. 85. || Ibid. p. 87. ** Ibid. p. 88. ¶ Ibid. p. 90.

"15. The effect . . . . . . is, to mix up the Government with the interior concerns of the Idol Establishment to a much greater extent than is at first sight apparent.

"The provision of the funds which are to be employed in supporting the establishment creates, at once, a right and a motive to watch over the expenditure. The paying the ministers and attendants of the place naturally induces, and at the same time authorises us, both to check the appointment, and to inspect the conduct of those persons. In every way we become parties to the accounts and general management of the establishment, including the supervision and disposal of its revenues, whether derived from fines, offerings, endowed lands, or from any other source.

"16. It is true, that the Bengal Government, by Regulation IV. A.D. 1809, abandoned that degree of superintendence which they had previously exercised over the affairs of the Temple of Juggernaut, and substituted the administration of the Rajah of Khoorda for their own. Even that regulation, however, seems to have too many links of the connexion which it aimed at severing. The Rajah himself was to be responsible to the Government; and might be removed by it for misconduct. The three Derval Purchas were to be appointed by the Collector of Cuttack, subject to the confirmation of Government; and were not to be removed from their offices without the sanction of the Supreme Government.

"And an account was to be rendered to the Collector of the tax of all offerings and presents made to the Idol. All this left in the hands of the Government a larger degree of control over the interior concerns of the establishment.

"17. *Arrangements which thus implicate the Government, be it in a greater or less degree, in the immediate ministrations of the local superstitions of the Natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without any reference to their actual or probable consequences. But that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind, is evident, inasmuch as they exhibit the British Power in such intimate connexion with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief, either that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions, or, at least, that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority.**

* Appendix I. p. 47.

" 44. In whatever degree it may be thought necessary that the British Government should superintend the pecuniary concerns of places of religious celebrity in India, even at the risk of promoting the Idol Worship connected with such place, there can be no reason why the Government should be an immediate party to the ceremonies, either preparatory or essential to the worship in question, or should gratuitously incur the suspicion of bearing that character.

" 45. Yet such seems to be the fact. In Allahabad, for instance, the Barbers, a very important class in the ceremonies of that place, are registered by the Collector, and subject to certain rules, enforced, we presume, by authority of that officer. At Gya, no such register exists. Why should such interposition and superintendence be more necessary at Allahabad than at Gya?—Again, at Juggernaut, the most gorgeous part of the decorations, with which the cars at the festival are embellished, consists in cloths directly supplied by our own warehouses.

" In a Letter, dated the 19th of December 1807, from Mr. Webb, then the Collector of Cuttack, to the Board of Revenue at Fort William, it is stated, that the cloths for covering the cars were formerly supplied by the Soubahs; and since, by the Commissioners and Collector; the officers of the temple declaring themselves incapable of procuring them.

" 46. Mr. Webb proceeds to recommend, that the whole quantity, being 480 yards, of which one piece must be superfine cloth, should be supplied from our warehouses: and he immediately adds, that the colours are of no consequence, but that there must be variety. This suggestion seems to have been adopted.—Mr. Stirling, who saw the great festival at Juggernaut in 1822, observes, that the splendour of the covering of striped and spangled broad-cloth, furnished from our export warehouses, compensated in a great measure for the meanness with which the cars were in other respects decorated.

" 47. When this matter is closely considered, it may seem somewhat less objectionable than at first sight. The broad-cloth, of which Mr. Stirling speaks, is not an offering, nor even a present: it is, in fact, one of the expenses of the idol worship, which is in the first instance defrayed by our Government, and against which they, of

course, set off an equivalent part of the surplus revenue received from the Pilgrim-tax. Yet, being furnished by the Government, and forming an important feature in the idol ceremony, and attracting all eyes by its gaudiness, this cloth is, we doubt not, considered, by the great majority of the attending devotees, as a free-will oblation to the Idol. On the other hand, and perhaps for the same reasons, no part of our proceedings with relation to the idol worship of Juggernauth has given so great offence to the opponents of the Pilgrim-tax, as the circumstance, that we should thus consent to dress up the idol equipage with our own hands.

"48. For the reasons that we have assigned, the several practices above described ought, in our opinion, to be abrogated, or discontinued." *

That the inference to be naturally drawn by the Natives of the country from this feature in the arrangements of the Public Functionaries, for conferring splendour on the hideous Block † which is the object of attraction at Juggernaut, on occasion of his periodical exhibition to the deluded worshippers—drawn in countless multitudes, by the art and industry of the Company's Pilgrim-hunters, from every quarter of Hindostan—is not erroneously assumed by the Honourable Court, there is evidence in the annals of every Christian Mission, from Hurdwar to Cape Comorin. "Sir," said a Pundit (a learned Hindoo) to an English Clergyman, then one of the Company's Chaplains in Bengal, and now in this country, "Christians cannot think any great harm of our idolatry. You, yourselves, give an offering of broad-cloth to the Idol ‡."

The liberty of action secured to the Christian Missionary by the British Legislature is faithfully granted in India: and the progress of the Missions, and the advancement of useful knowledge and European science

* Appendix I. p. 54.

† See the description of this figure in Buchanan's Christian Researches.

‡ Vide Appendix VIII. p. 144; and Appendix II. p. 102.

in that country—considering the peculiar nature of the systems of superstition and idolatry which are to be overcome, and the hindrance which the climate presents to the exertions of the European Missionary—demand the devout acknowledgments of all who are solicitous to promote the best interests of mankind. But in the Company's system of upholding the temples and worship of the Hindoos, the Christian Missionary experiences an obstacle to his beneficent labours, scarcely less formidable, in its influence upon the multitude, than the spiritual tyranny of their priesthood, and the terrible spell of *caste;* or less palpable than the infatuation of their devotees, and the intoxicating revelries of their religious festivals.

A systematic support of the native religious institutions, exceeding the patronage of their own ancient governments, and amounting to a positive impediment to the reception of Christianity, was surely not among the "facilities to be afforded, by law, to persons going to India" for the purpose of accomplishing the benevolent design of "introducing among the Natives useful knowledge and moral improvement"—which the British Legislature exacted from the Company, among the conditions upon which their Charter was renewed in 1813, and again in 1833.

It should be explained, that, in Bengal, the interference of the Public Functionaries with the interior concerns of the Hindoo Temples is very limited, in comparison with the practice at Madras, where it is general. If the Court, in a passage of their despatch of 1833, quoted above, could ask, "Why should such interposition and interference be more necessary at Allahabad than at Gya?"—may it not be asked, "Why should practices be general at Madras which are scarcely known at all in Bengal?"

Secondly—The compulsory attendance of the troops, European and Christian-Native, as well as Hindoo and Mussulman, as guards of honour at the religious festivals of the country; and other marks of respect rendered to the same.

Royal salutes are fired from the batteries of Fort St. George, at the celebration of the Poongal* (Hindoo Feast), and at the Ramzan† (Mussulman); and in honour of the latter at Trichinopoly‡. At Trivanderam, in Travancore§, the Company's troops are employed to do honour, at great inconvenience, at the annual festival of the principal Idol of the country. At Trichinopoly, the European artillery, and other troops, are employed||, twelve times a year, to attend processions at the following Mussulman Festivals.

Nature of the Processions.	Periods at which the processions are to take place.	Remarks.
Procession of the Ramzan Festival	1st of Shawal	Royal salute, and an honorary escort.
Ditto of the Buckreed Festival	10th of Zehiyja . . .	Royal salute, and an honorary escort.
Ditto of the anniversary of Huzrut Nuther Vallee Sahib, a Mahomedan Saint . .	14th of Ramzarin . .	An honorary escort.
Ditto of the anniversary of Wallajah Nabob, deceased in 1795	29th of Rubee Oul . .	Ditto.
Do. do. of the Mahl of Wallajah	15th of Jomadee Oul	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Omdut Omrah Nabob, deceased in 1801 . .	3d of Rubee Oul . . .	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Ameer ul Omrah, deceased	24th of Mohurum . .	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of the Mahl of Ameer ul Omrah	3d of Zehiyja	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Hissow ul Moolk	7th of Shuba	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Nasseer ul Moolk	15th of ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Molekoon Nissa Begum, daughter of Wallajah	29th of Suffer	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of the Mahil of Hissow ul Moolk	16th of Shaban . . .	Ditto.

* Madras Memorial, Appendix II. pp. 79, 80.
† Ibid. ‡ Ibid. pp. 73, 78, 80, 125. § Ibid. p. 74.
|| Ibid.; and Madras Letter, Appendix III. p. 131.

At Nagpoor, detachments of the Subsidiary Force have been employed in honour of the Dussoràh Festival *.

At several stations of the Bombay Presidency, it has been usual to allow guards to Hindoo and Mahomedan Festivals. At Baroda, a detachment is employed to attend the Guicowar (sovereign), on occasion of the annual festival of an idol, named Gumputtee †. The orders for assembling the troops state plainly the occasion to be in honour of the ceremonial;—in another instance, "*to take part* in the Dussorah Procession ‡."

It should be mentioned, that, to aggravate the grievance under this head, the attendance of Christian officers and troops on the Hindoo and Mussulman Festivals frequently occurs on the Christian *Sabbath-day* §—a circumstance that is never allowed to interfere with the performance of the duty.

Further—that no Hindoo or Mahomedan can be compelled, nor is he ever in any way required by his superior officer, to attend on Christian Public Worship, or to take any part in the rites of the Christian Religion ||.

Again: upon a Mahomedan Officer being brought to a court-martial for expressing his determination not to attend with his Company at a Hindoo Festival, and simply pleading "*that he considered his religion to be interfered with*" by the requisition, he was released, and the order countermanded ¶. Whereas Christian drummers, for a similar offence—that is, refusing, *because they*

* Madras Memorial, Appendix II. p. 76.

† Appendix IV. from MS. papers, p. 137.

‡ Vide Appendix IV. p. 138.

§ Madras Memorial, par. 4. p. 65 ; and Appendix II. pp. 73, 74.

|| Madras Letter, par. 3.

¶ See Madras Memorial, Appendix A, p. 75 Note.

were Christians, to attend the Dussorah—have been imprisoned, and ordered to be dismissed the service. They were afterward pardoned, on expressing contrition, and promising not to offend again. It appearing that they were instigated to this proceeding by a Roman-Catholic Priest, to whose congregation they belonged, it was intimated to him, from the Government, that on the occurrence of any similar interference with the discipline of the troops he would be interdicted from residing within any Military Station under the Madras Government*.

If to this branch of the subject it be objected, that a blind unreflecting submission to orders is the indispensable principle of military obedience, a wise and humane Government will secure the cordial rather than the constrained submission of its Officers, by so discreet a regard to points involving questions of conscience—not the scrupulosities of weak consciences, but the dictates of intelligent Christian principle—as to render the obedience of the man as entire as the subordination of the soldier. So long as the unquestioning submission of the Officer is demanded, without regard to the responsibility attaching to the Ruler, to draw the lines of duty, in countries where differences of religion prevail, on the only safe principle of pure non-interference, collisions of opinion must arise, and alienation of attachment, or hypocritical pretences, will creep into the constitution of the army, and breed dissatisfaction. The consequences cannot fail to be injurious to the general discipline and moral efficiency of the service.

* Madras Memorial, App. II. p. 77. And Copy of Priest's Letter on the subject, App. IV. p. 139.

To the condemnation of this custom, on the part of the Company's Government, of countenancing the superstitious and idolatrous customs of the Natives, by the pomp of military attendance, which is founded on principle, is to be added this consideration, namely, that the greatest inconsistency prevails in the practice. In Bengal, it is almost, if not wholly, unknown; so that Functionaries connected with that Presidency are at a loss to understand the urgency with which Christian Officers and troops at Madras and Bombay implore the removal of a grievance that does not exist at *their* Presidency. Further—as the practice originated, in most instances, in the mistaken policy or caprice of individual Commanding Officers of Stations, rather than in Orders of Government*; so, in various instances, Commanding Officers have exercised their own discretion in intermitting the customary compliment to the festivals. In fact, if the Government had not, by a recent act, as will be explained in the sequel, adopted the practice and systematized it, the evil would probably have gradually disappeared with the progress of improved feeling on the general question †, even if it had not been abolished, as it was at Madras for upwards of twelve months, by order of the late and present Commander-in-Chief at that Presidency.

THIRDLY—The farming or collecting of the superstitious fines or offerings to the Hindoo Idols, for the profit of the Company.

Also—of the imposition of taxes on the worshippers at certain temples — pilgrim-taxes at Juggernaut, &c. —for the same object.

* Appendix IV. p. 138, at foot.

† Ibid. p. 116, par. 8.

Under the first class of these impure sources of revenue to the Honourable Company, there occurs the following communication in the Madras Memorial:—

"The offerings made at several Idol Temples are now rented out annually, on behalf of Government. In these cases, all the influence of the Collector's public servants is employed in favour of the renter. A cowle, or deed of rent, is executed, which prescribes minute rules for the whole ceremonial of approaching the temple, the making the offerings, and contains strong injunctions tending to honour the Idol and increase the value of the offerings.

"The produce of these rents becomes part of the revenue of Government; and the Collectors and their subordinates are entitled to commission on it.

"There are those among the covenanted servants of the Government of Fort St. George who regard these and similar acts, which they are officially required to perform, with conscientious abhorrence; and who doubt—notwithstanding the palliative of their performance being constrained, and amounting rather to permission than participation, or even consent—who doubt, whether, in order to preserve a good conscience, they will not be obliged to quit a department, for which their inclination, as well as their experience and qualifications, adapt them; or, if that cannot be, boldly to refuse obedience, and take the consequences, which might be the temporal ruin of themselves and their families*."

Upon the second branch of this head—namely, the Pilgrim Taxes—the Court's Despatch of Feb. 1833 will supply the fullest information †.

There has been a strange mystification of the accounts relating to this subject. In 1833, the Court could only state, in a general way, that it appeared the average surplus receipts, at Juggernaut, Gya, Allahabad, Fulta, and Sooran, averaged about four lacs of rupees (40,000*l.*) per annum. Without entering into particulars about the disposal of the surplus, "there

* Appendix II. p. 97. † Appendix I. par. 19. p. 48.

appears enough," the Court remark, "on the face of the Governor-General's statement, to raise the general question, how far it is within the moral competence of the British Government to draw a revenue from such sources. In considering that question, the first impression must be adverse to a revenue so derived. *Our feelings revolt at the idea of deliberately making a profit of practices, the existence of which we must deplore, and of tenets which we cannot but entirely disapprove.*" Again: "We conceive that the system of raising a revenue, or at least a surplus revenue, by means of a pilgrim-tax, must in many ways lead to the promotion and encouragement of the superstition out of which the tax is derived."—Par. 19, 20. p. 49.

23. "It gives the Government an immediate interest in the progress and extension of such superstition. It furnishes both to the Government, and to such of its Functionaries as are concerned in levying the tax—supposing these to sympathize with their employers—a perpetual inducement to increase the income of the temple, and therefore to attract to the spot as numerous a concourse of pilgrims as possible. It is true, that the Government in India has always professed—and, we doubt not, very sincerely—to consider the amount of the revenue which may be obtained by means of a pilgrim-tax as an object of trifling importance, when compared with that of conciliating the Natives by a well-arranged system for the support of their favourite superstition.

24. "This has always been the feeling of the Government at home. But, though the chief motive of the arrangements connected with the pilgrim-tax may have been a liberal ambition to conciliate the Natives, the natural desire of procuring financial benefit to the Company has always mixed itself with the former sentiments: neither of these objects, indeed, could be overlooked by the Company's servants, zealous as they have ever been to promote in every way the interests of the body by whom they have been employed."

And these remarks are verified by admissions drawn from various communications of different Functionaries

at different periods, relative to the management of the taxes.

The decision of the Court on this head, after an elaborate review of the question, is thus expressed:—

48. "On the whole, we conceive that the principles of toleration do not require that we should promote the growth and popularity of superstitions, the prevalence of which every rational and religious mind must lament: and we are therefore of opinion, that any system which directly connects the pecuniary interests of the State with the extension of such superstitions, is, for that reason, objectionable, and ought to terminate."

The Court next investigate the subject of the employment of the Pilgrim-hunters, a class of people "employed in travelling throughout India for the purpose of enticing the pilgrim to the several shrines and temples of repute. These men receive a fee from every pilgrim whom they can persuade to visit the particular seat of superstition to which they are attached: they have, consequently, a direct interest in enticing as many as possible; and they, in fact, seem to discharge their vocation with astonishing industry, dexterity, and success." The decision upon this part of the system under review, is, "that the credit and authority of Government are perverted to the support of a manifest and revolting abuse."—Par. 38. p. 53.

Continuing their investigation of the subject, the Honourable Court examine the question of the application of the produce of the pilgrim-taxes, as it has been alleged, to objects conducive to the comfort of the pilgrims; as, the making of roads, &c., and the maintenance of police for the preservation of peace at the great festivals;—and having, by a train of masterly reasoning, disposed of the pleas set up on these grounds for the continuance of the tax, state, in the following paragraph, their opinion on the ques-

tion, how the abolition of the tax would be received by the Hindoos:—

56. "We have, in the preceding remarks, adverted to the apprehensions entertained by some persons, that the abolition of the pilgrim-tax would be regarded by the Hindoo with dread and regret, as indicating the withdrawal of the protection hitherto afforded to the religion by this Government, and as leading to further measures of the same character. From the Papers before us, from the tenor of the answers to the Governor-General's Circular, and also from general principles, we think it is at least as probable that the impression resulting from the abolition would be of an opposite description. We mean, that the Hindoos would view the abolition as a boon, and as a new proof of special toleration; and that in this view it would tend to increase the popularity of the British Administration. We do not wish to lay much stress on this topic, because it is not mainly by such considerations that we must regulate our Indian Administration; but it is important to bear it in mind, as a set-off against anticipations, so often indulged in, of a different effect."

Brief as it is desired to make the present statement, it seems indispensable to advert in this place to the notion of "conciliating the Natives," as the Court term it in a preceding passage, "by a well-arranged system, for the support of their favourite superstitions."

This point was thus discussed in a Memoir "on the Civil Disabilities of the Christian Natives"; which was drawn up some years ago, and communicated to the Members of the Court of Directors, and the then President of the Board of Control. Subsequent historical facts, if needed, would amply confirm the views then stated:—

"As it regards either foreign or domestic policy, few of those, who really know the state of the native mind in India, believe that all our endeavours to conciliate the Hindoo or Mussulman, by such concessions as are plainly incompatible with our paramount duty as Christians, have succeeded to render either favourable to

our rule. The integrity of our engagements, whether with States or individuals, deprive them of all reasonable ground of complaint: the liberality of our pay, and other advantages, attach the army to our standard. The hopelessness of resistance subdues the spirit of the discontented Mussulman; and the same conviction, joined to the natural apathy of his disposition, renders the Hindoo quiet under British Supremacy. But it is well known, that at every period of emergency in our affairs, whenever the removal of a large proportion of our army to a scene of distant warfare, or any extraordinary combination of circumstances, have roused the slumbering hopes of the Native Powers, they have meditated revolt, if they have not started into resistance to our ascendancy. Hence the combination of the Mahratta Powers during the Pindaree campaign, accompanied by every circumstance of treachery. It is known, also, that when the Paishwah became a fugitive, there was not a dependent Native State, though indebted for its existence to our forbearance and protection, but must, from religious motives, have given the fugitive admission, and espoused his cause, if he had appeared on their frontier. Whence, also, was the usurpation at Bhurtpore, at the crisis of the Burmese War, and the unsettled state at that moment of all the Feudatory Powers, if our policy in reference to the religion of the Natives had really answered the professed end, and rendered our paramount sway in India grateful to its inhabitants. No impression in regard to our tenderness for their religion has stood, for an hour, in the way of restraint to their efforts to shake off our yoke, whenever a gleam of hope has encouraged their disposition to resistance. A few enlightened individuals may repose, with satisfaction, in the tranquillity of our provinces, and in the equity of our administration; but it is of the very nature of Hindooism to despise the foreigner, and of Islamism to detest the Infidel; and no concession to those religions can propitiate the affection of the followers of either, though it may flatter their pride, and tend to confirm them in their ignorance and superstition. It is the dread of our power alone that holds the States of India in a peaceable posture.

"It is thus that facts corroborate the truth, which reason, guided by Revelation, deduces from an examination of the policy of our Indian Administration.

"To the advocates of the established system of our Government

these views of our real situation, in reference to the Natives, have furnished arguments for persisting in maintaining that system; while, in our opinion, the obvious policy of the case is, without interference with the religions of the country, to foster, by all legitimate methods, the religion of the State; and thus to raise up, throughout our territories, a body of Natives bound to our Rule by the ties of Religion, and all the attachments which an entire community of interests produces. Equal justice demands the desired protection for the Christian converts, as a right; and true policy corroborates the claim. The sanction of our Divine Religion, it is scarcely necessary to add, concurs in enforcing these opinions: but this part of the subject has been so ably stated by the late Bishop Middleton, in a Sermon preached in Calcutta in the year 1820, that the Writer gladly supports the argument by the insertion of that distinguished Prelate's sentiments:—

" 'There have been,' said the Bishop, 'and even yet, perhaps, they are not extinct, certain prejudices against all endeavours to disseminate Christianity in this country. With those which are purely political, I have no other concern, than to remark, that all policy is, to say the least of it, very questionable, when it is manifestly opposed to the purposes of Him *who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will:* (Dan. iv. 17.) No policy, in fact, in a case like the present, can be openly avowed, which does not profess to keep in view the real interests and permanent happiness of the governed: and thus the question will be reduced to a very simple one, Whether the temporal and eternal good, one or both of them, of the nations around us, would not be promoted by a gradual developement, to their minds and hearts, of the truths of the Gospel?'

* * * *

" 'With respect to the question of temporal advantage, it is difficult to reply to objections which assume no fixed or tangible form: we hear it, indeed, sometimes hinted, that these people are already in a condition which, perhaps, may be deteriorated, but cannot be improved. If, however, the prevalence of liberal knowledge, habits of industry, mutual confidence in the transactions of life, a respect for the basis of all moral integrity—I mean truth, the absence of those social distinctions which serve only to depress the great mass of the species, the elevation of the female part of

society to their proper dignity and influence, and the possession of that liberty *wherewith Christ hath made men free* (Gal. v. 1.), and which is really the principle, however overlooked, of all national greatness and prosperity in modern times—if these several particulars enter largely into the theory of the well-being of any people, it were surely too much to abandon all established maxims, and the dictates of our common feelings, in mere courtesy to supposed interests or secret predilections. For the want of such national blessings, as those which are here enumerated, no equivalent can be pleaded, and no compensation made."

The Madras Letter copied in the Appendix* expresses the following sentiments in regard to the alleged aggressive character of the desired changes, as regards the native prejudices, and consequent danger of the proceeding:—

"Another point to which they desire to call your attention, is this—That there is not only no aggression, nor restriction of the religious freedom of the Heathen or Mahomedan subjects of the State, contemplated; but that all allegations of danger are utterly groundless, when the only thing sought, is, that the Government and its Christian subjects shall not interfere with the religion of the people. We might on this point take our stand on the Court's despatch alone; and ask, Whether it is in the nature of things, that the people should be offended with the non-interference of Christians with their religious rites?—that disaffection should be the consequence of granting to all classes the fullest possible amount of religious freedom, by leaving them, as the Court's despatch directs, 'entirely to themselves'?

"We might appeal, also, to past experience, as a full confutation of all objections raised on the pretext of danger.

"For if we look even to cases where the acts of Government have been positive aggressions on the superstitions and the religious prejudices of the people, disturbances and disaffection have never ensued. Lord Wellesley's wise and humane law, prohibiting infanticide at Saugor and other places, under the penalty of death—and Lord William Bentinck's enactment, which put an end to the Burning of Widows, a rite specially countenanced by the Hindoo

* Appendix III. p. 115.

Shastars—never created one moment's disquietude to the Government. And are we to suppose that these acts, and others of a similar character, shall be readily and peacefully acquiesced in by the people; and yet, that they will become disaffected and violent, when no interference whatever with their religion is either exercised, or for a moment contemplated?

" As long residents in this country, and intimately acquainted with the people, several of the Memorialists can affirm, that there is not a shadow of truth, or of substance, in the objections raised. These objections not only put out of view the overruling providence of God, but all our past experience also; and are precisely of the same quality and value as those which have been uniformly advanced against every measure for the religious improvement of India."

The conclusions at which the Honourable Court arrived, in their admirable Despatch, were the following:—

62. " Finally, it may be convenient to recapitulate, in a brief series, the principal conclusions resulting from the preceding discussion.

" They are the following—

" 1st. That the interference of British Functionaries, in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites, and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease.

" 2. That the pilgrim-tax shall everywhere be abolished.

" 3. That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government; and they shall, consequently, no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East-India Company.

" 4. That no servant of the East-India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection or management, or custody, of moneys, in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind.

" 5. That no servant of the East-India Company shall

hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources.

"6. That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves.

"7. That in every case in which it has been found necessary to form and keep up a police force, specially with a view to the peace and security of the pilgrims or the worshippers, such police shall hereafter be maintained, and made available, out of the general revenue of the country.

"63. Much caution, and many gradations, may be necessary, in acting on the conclusions at which we have arrived. Among other concomitant measures, such explanations should be given to the Natives, as shall satisfy them, that, so far from abandoning the principles of a just toleration, the British Government is resolved to apply them with more scrupulous accuracy than ever; and that this proceeding is, in truth, no more than a recurrence to that state of real neutrality from which we ought never to have departed *."

At a Meeting of the Court of Proprietors of the East-India Company, held on the 20th instant (June 1838), the Chairman, in answer to a question, as to whether any steps had yet been taken to carry into effect the Directors' Orders, now of more than five years' standing, said, he was not aware that any steps had been taken for the purpose.

In the prefatory remarks of this statement, it was observed, that the Home Authorities, instead of maintaining their own previous position, have been moving in a retrograde direction—that the Indian Governments have, in several instances, adopted a line of proceeding at variance with the Court's instructions of 1833, and of the unanimous Resolutions of the Pro-

* Appendix I. p. 59.

prietors in 1836—that instances in which the interests of Christianity and Idolatry were concerned, have been decided in favour of the latter—that orders, which would have operated quietly to discontinue the homage rendered to the superstitious and idolatrous customs of the people, have been revoked, and the application of the condemned system extended to the case of persons exempted by special arrangements from its operation; while the endeavours of their conscientious servants to execute their own declared intentions for the discontinuance of the existing system, have met with rebuke and punishment.—These observations will now be verified by facts.

The first instance of the retrograde movement was the Reply given by the Madras Government to the Memorial of the Madras Servants and others *. The Memorialists had disclaimed, in the most distinct terms, all notion of interference with the religious usages of the Natives. The non-interference prescribed by the Court's Despatch of 1833 was the sum and substance of their petition. The late revered Bishop of Madras was solicited to present it to the Government. He first apprised the Governor, privately, of the intention of the Memorialists; and intimated, that the Memorial would not be persevered in, if a hope were held out of the desired relief being granted. To the private communication, no reply was given. To the public Letter accompanying the Memorial, an answer was written, which has been characterized as "insulting" to one of the meekest and holiest of men, not more exalted in station than honoured by general esteem. The Supreme Government, it is true, in their Letter † on the subject of the Memorial, vindicated the Bishop from the unjust cen-

* Appendix II. p. 113. † Appendix III. p. 128.

sure of the Local Government, but granted no relief to the Memorialists. Where the Madras Government expressed strong displeasure, the Governor General, indeed, intimates only surprise and regret. As to the language of the Memorialists, relative to the religion of the Natives, which is reprobated by the Governor General, it was substantially that of the Honourable Court themselves. The principles of just and equal toleration, indeed, are asserted; for none will now venture to call them in question. But in this, as in every other instance in the policy of our Indian Rulers, toleration is found to be one-sided—the Native shall have the full benefit—the Christian, in competition with the Native, none.—The Governor General finally remits back the subject to the discretion of the Local Government, which he has no doubt "will make it their aim to introduce every proper improvement in the usages of the Madras Presidency":—and thus the matter terminates with the Authorities of that country.

From Home, the Reply of the Court of Directors was brief and definitive:—

"We now desire," they say, "that no customary tributes or marks of respect to Native Festivals be discontinued at any of the Presidencies; that no protection hitherto given be withdrawn; and that no change whatever be made in any matters relating to the Native Religion, except under the authority of the Supreme Government*."

Such was the language, in 1837, of Functionaries who in 1833 had directed the discontinuance of all instances of interference with the Native Religious Customs; and in 1836 reiterated the sentiment, by their adoption of Mr. Poynder's motion, and their professed adherence to the principles of the despatch so often referred to!

* Madras Letter, Appendix III. p. 126.

The following statement relative to the discontinuance of the attendance of troops at Native Religious Festivals—by orders of two successive Commanders-in-Chief at Madras—and the revocation of those orders after fifteen months' quiet and unobjectionable operation, will further evince the disposition of the Supreme Government, as well as that of Madras, "to aim at every proper improvement in the usages of the latter Presidency."

In consequence of an accident at a religious festival, which caused the death of a Sepoy who was taking part in the disorderly procession, the late Commander-in-Chief at Madras, Lieut.-General Sir Robert O'Callaghan, issued orders prohibiting the attendance of troops at native religious ceremonies, except for the preservation of peace; and then only in military order*. The presence of the detachment in the instance of the accident, it is observed in the Adjutant-General's Letter on the occasion, "was supposed to be required for the maintenance of the public peace during the celebration of the festival"; but, it is added, "it would seem that the men formed part of the procession rather as honorary attendants—*a practice which the Commander-in-Chief considers, in every point of view, decidedly objectionable.*"

The usual pretext for the employment of the troops is here shown: the real nature of their attendance is also shown: and the practice, as in every point of view decidedly objectionable, was recommended to be discontinued. The sentiments and language used on the occasion by the Military Authorities present a strange contrast to those of the Civil Governments. "If required merely to do honour to the occasion," says the Adjutant General, under the Instructions of Sir Robert O'Callaghan, "or escort the coolies, carrying rockets,

* See Copies of Papers, Appendix IV. p. 135.

the Commander-in-Chief must strongly recommend that the attendance of the troops may, in future, be dispensed with. *It is not necessary; and various reasons, both of military discipline and of general policy, concur to make it unadvisable* *."

The Adjutant-General's Letter was dated 16th of June 1836; and on the 26th of the following month, the following General Order was issued:—

"GENERAL ORDER OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF (SIR R. O'CALLAGHAN.)

"*Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, June* 26, 1836.

"The Commander-in-Chief directs it to be strictly observed, as a standing regulation of the Service, that whenever the attendance of troops, either European or Native, may be necessary at any Native Festival or similar occasion, the troops so employed are invariably to be kept in a collected body, as a military guard, for the maintenance of order; *and are not on any account to be permitted to join or take part in the procession or ceremony; nor to act as escorts, either to persons or property.*"

The relief so urgently prayed for, on conscientious grounds, by a numerous body of the Company's Officers, was thus obtained by an act of the Commander-in-Chief, through the medium of an Officer, the late Adjutant-General of the Madras army, Colonel Conway, C. B., who had held that office nearly thirty years; than whom no man, by universal admission, better understood the constitution of the Indian army, or could better appreciate the influence of any measure affecting the usages of the troops, or of the Natives in general.

In the course of that year, Lieut.-General Sir Peregrine Maitland succeeded to the command of the Madras army; and on the 6th of December following, the Adjutant-General issued a Circular Instruction, by

* Appendix IV. p. 136.

order of his Excellency, directing the strict observance of the above General Order; and prohibiting—as unnecessary for the only allowable occasion of the attendance of the troops, namely, the maintenance of peace at those processions—the attendance of the regimental musicians (who are Christians), and the colours.

Sir R. O'Callaghan's Orders, enforced by Sir P. Maitland, had been in operation for more than twelve months. Nothing appeared to justify the slightest apprehension as to the working of the Orders having caused inconvenience in any form. Some modification of the Orders appears to have been made by the Civil Government on the 4th of March 1837; but on the 12th of September of that year, the Local Government, under instructions from the Government of India (Bengal), issued its Instructions *, "That, without *formally cancelling* the General Orders of Sir R. O'Callaghan, forbidding the attendance of troops at religious festivals, those Orders should *be allowed to fall gradually into desuetude;* and, as the attendance of troops at popular festivals, and on Natives of rank, as honorary guards, *is a usage of long standing* under this Presidency, the indulgence is not to be withheld (except under permission from the Government), even when Natives, to whom the complimentary observance is paid, may be proceeding to the performance of religious duties."

The whole system of military attendance at these festivals was thus practically re-established. The Orders of the Court of 1833, for discontinuing all connexion and countenance of those debasing superstitious customs, were disregarded; and the fruits of years of contest between Christian duty and sound

* See Copy of Orders, Appendix IV. p. 123.

policy on the one hand, and the shallow claims of "long-established usage," based on a neglect of the clearly-defined principles of toleration—from which, as the Court of Directors had observed, "their Government ought never to have departed"—have thus been lost, by recent acts of the Indian Authorities. The acts were passed, indeed, as they professed, without *formal revocation* of the Orders of two successive Commanders-in-Chief; thereby avoiding the scandal of a public avowal of the intended countenance of the idolatrous practices; but effectually accomplishing the object, and most significantly expressing the *animus* of the Indian Government.

But this is not all.—An Establishment was formed, a few years ago, for training the sons of European soldiers brought up at the Military Male Asylum at Madras—a school under the best regulations, in respect of religious instruction and superintendence—to serve as musicians of Native Corps.

To save these youths from associating with the old class of regimental musicians, the corps to which they were attached had their old drummers &c. removed, before these joined*. And to preserve them in the religious habits in which they had been brought up, Orders were issued to Commanding Officers, for their attendance at Church—to keep them to their regimental duties only—and that they were not to attend Native Festivals with their instruments.

Under this arrangement, five regiments had been supplied with drummers from the Dépôt. The course prescribed had been acted upon without the least complaint; and was in quiet operation, when the same Instructions which revoked Sir R. O'Callaghan's Orders in regard to the attendance of the troops in

* See Madras Letter, Appendix III. par. 10. p. 122.

general at Native Religious Festivals led also the Local Government to cancel the Orders which protected these Christian drummers from any violation of their Christian feelings. To preserve appearances, indeed, as usual, neither these youths, nor any other Christian musicians, were "to be compelled" to attend the religious festivals of the Natives; but to be allowed, "when they are willing of themselves." Of the new principle of military discipline, which renders obedience optional, this is not the place to speak. But as regards the value of the choice conceded to these Christian Youths, no one acquainted with the relative position of the parties concerned in this transaction need be informed. The boys know no patron but their immediate Commanding Officer. His part, if he desired to adapt his conduct to the intentions of Government, is intelligibly indicated in the Instructions. There can be little difference of opinion as to the working of the new Regulation; and the following narrative, from the Madras Letter, was scarcely necessary to prove that the plan adopted would speedily accomplish its purpose, "of assimilating the practice of these five regiments to that which generally obtains in the rest of the army," "*without recalling attention to the subject by any public announcement,*" according to the terms of the Government Instructions*.

"The practical effect of these Orders is, to deprive every Christian in the army of all religious freedom. —The following extract, the authenticity of which is unquestionable, from a communication received from an Officer of a native regiment, who would be no party to the Memorial, will explain the manner in which the Government Order acts †. 'Our drummers,' the writer remarks, in a Letter of the 14th of November

* A Copy of the Instructions will be found in Appendix III. p. 123.

† Madras Letter, Appendix III. p. 122. par. 18.

last (1837), 'refused to attend the Dussorah; and being Acting Adjutant at the time, I placed, by order of the Lieut. Colonel, twelve in the guard; where they remained, *until they were willing to go;* when they were let out, and sent to the next procession.'—Thus easy is it for Commanding Officers, not to compel, but, as the Order of the Supreme Government expresses it, to make Christians 'willing of themselves' to show these marks of good-will to their Sepoy brethren—to become, in fact, Idolaters and Mahomedans by turns: and, while the Heathen and the Mahomedan is justly permitted scrupulously to respect his religion, the Christian is to be induced, or compelled, by a British Government, to disregard his own pure and holy faith; and to treat the command of his God, to 'have no fellowship with Idols,' as empty sound."

The preference given to the Native Religion, where a question has arisen between its observances and those of Christians, has been evinced in a case which occurred last year at Cuddalore, a Station on the sea-coast, at some distance to the southward of Madras*. The worship of a Christian Church had been disturbed by a noisy rabble of the lowest class of Mussulmans, at the celebration of the Mohurrem Festival, on the Christian Sabbath, two years before. A similar interruption would have again taken place this year; but the Clergyman applied to the Local Magistrate, to obviate it. Orders were in consequence given, to prevent the noise of the procession during the celebration of Divine Worship. The Native Police-officers performed their duty in conformity. The result was—a hasty misrepresentation of the case to Government; and an Order, to prohibit all similar obstructions—not to the Christian Worship—but to the Mussulman disorderly

* Madras Letter, Appendix III. p. 124.

procession; and to dismiss the Native Officers, for the execution of their superior's orders!

It only remains to state, that, persisting in its determination to resist "the introduction of all proper improvements in the usages of the Madras Presidency," contrary to the assurance of the Governor General—and to maintain the system of connexion with the superstitious and idolatrous practices of the country, which the Directors had ordered to be discontinued—the Madras Government, besides the treatment which has been mentioned of inferior cases, have removed a distinguished member of their Civil Service from an office wherein he could no longer execute duties which the Court's deliberate judgment had condemned as "revolting to our feelings"; and which his conscience, enlightened by their opinion, as well as by the higher dictates of the Sacred Scriptures, felt to be sinful*.

The practice, in this instance, consisted in the farming out, for the benefit of Government, the produce of superstitious offerings at a Hindoo Temple. The Collector, one year, made good the sum expected by Government from his own pocket: the next, he represented his objections to the superior Board—and was removed from his situation.

Another Gentleman of the Company's Civil Service, on their Madras Establishment, now in this country, having, in consequence of the recent discussions, thought it right to inquire of the Court of Directors, if obedience to Orders involving participation in idolatrous usages was an indispensable condition of his holding office in their service; and receiving for answer the reply, that, of course, obedience to Orders was indispensable—the meaning of both parties being

* See Appendix III. par. 17, p. 121.

obvious—preferred resigning a lucrative service to continuing an employment incompatible with his duty to a higher Master*.

But a victim of higher rank was required, to exhibit the character of the system fully. The Commander-in-Chief at Madras, Lieut. Gen. Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B.—an officer of the highest military distinction, and popular beyond most of his predecessors with the army, engaged in a course of measures of the most beneficial tendency for the comfort of the soldier and the general efficiency of the Service—has preferred to resign his high post, rather than continue the organ of executing the Orders which superseded his and Sir R. O'Callaghan's, relative to the attendance of the troops under his command to do honour to the superstitious and idolatrous rites of the Natives. The Court of Directors having lately declined to print the correspondence on this subject, this statement of the case is given according to the prevailing version of public rumour. Whether the account is accurate in particulars, is therefore uncertain; but there is no doubt that Sir P. Maitland's resignation is connected with the retrograde course of policy on this head, now pursuing by the Indian Authorities.

In the midst of measures of a contrary kind, there has lately occurred one which serves to show with what decision the Local Government can act, from other motives, to remedy a grievance long complained of on religious grounds; and which constituted, in fact, one of the petitions of the Madras Memorial.

In various provinces of the Madras Presidency, a custom has long prevailed of impressing labourers to drag the Idol-cars (Rutts), at the celebration of the great festivals. It was a most oppressive custom, often

* Appendix V. p. 142.

appealed against, but still persevered in, on the old principle of not interfering with established usages, until the year 1836; when a lamentable accident occurred at the Conjeveram Feast, the car having run over and crushed to death ten persons. Upon a strong representation of the case from the Local Revenue Officer, Government issued Orders for the discontinuance of the impressment of the people in future, in all the provinces; characterizing the custom "as a grievous hardship" on the people. The correspondence will be found in the Appendix of the Madras Memorial*. Christian Natives were accustomed to be impressed for this service, in common with others; and applications for their relief, on the ground of interference with their religion, had been disregarded. The accident which involved so serious a loss of lives, at length procured the desired relief to all classes. For two years, the managers of the festivals have been left, as the Court's despatch of 1833 required they should be left, in all instances, "entirely to themselves"; and no ill effects have resulted.

In this, as in every other instance, in which the Government, rising to the level of a wise, firm, and Christian policy, have adopted the course which the propriety of the case demanded—disregarding the claims of long-established usage, because unsupported by reason, and opposed to the spirit of our Divine Religion—they have obtained, as their just recompence, the gratitude of those immediately concerned in their measures, and the applause of all humane and good men.

Some additional Documents will be found in the Appendix.

* Appendix D. pp. 99, 106, Note.

One is a passage from the Memoir * already referred to, relative to the Civil Disabilities of the Christian Natives, recording a remarkable act of a Native State in India—the Rannee (Queen) of Travancore—in promulgating the principles of full and equal toleration to her subjects of all religions, and releasing Christians from customary duties incompatible with theirs.

It is due to the Indian Authorities, to state, that the Civil Disabilities under which the Christian Natives then laboured in the East-India Company's territories were shortly after removed, by a Regulation opening all public offices, with certain necessary restrictions, to all their subjects, irrespective of their religious creed. We now ask for them—what the Government of Travancore has granted to its Christian Subjects—relief from such customary usages of the Company's System as are incompatible with their Religion.

The other Documents are the following:—A passage from a Sermon recently delivered by the Lord Bishop of Exeter, before the Society for Propagating the Gospel in Foreign Parts †, bearing on the subject of this Statement.

Another on the same subject, illustrative of the views of a Christian Minister, himself personally acquainted with India ‡.

Finally, a Paper showing the light in which the religious ceremonies and processions of their countrymen are regarded by such of the Natives as have become enlightened by the now rapidly-extending progress of knowledge, science, and Christianity among them. This last document was published in a Native Newspaper at Calcutta. It will be found to denounce, in terms not less condemnatory than those employed by the Christian

* Appendix VI. p. 144. † Appendix VII. p. 147.
‡ Appendix VIII. p. 148.

Divine, the "popular religious festivals" to which our Government persist in giving the sanction of their countenance, by the compulsory attendance of their troops; and will show the freedom with which a Hindoo now treats the debasing superstitions of his countrymen, in the metropolis of India, while the Court of East-India Proprietors are passing Resolutions affirming that discussions affecting the subject, in the metropolis of this country, are fraught with danger to their remote Empire *.

Such is the history, and present state, of this important question. Divested of mystification, the subject is simple and definite. A system of interference with the native religious establishments, rites, and customs, has insensibly grown up with the progress of our power in that vast country; until, in some parts, it amounts, in the language of one of the documents that has been quoted, to "an identification of our Government with the Idolatry of the country." In the terms of the Despatch of the Court of Directors of 1833, "the existing arrangements of the Government exhibit the British Power in such intimate connexion with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions, or at least that we attribute to them some peculiar and venerable authority."

As regards the deriving of a revenue from the taxes and offerings of Superstition, no language can more fitly express the sentiment of every Christian mind, than that employed by the same authority:—"Our feelings revolt at the idea of deliberately making a

* Appendix IX. p. 149. See the Resolution, and the Protest recorded against it, Appendix X. p. 152.

profit of practices, the existence of which we must deplore, and of tenets which we cannot but entirely disapprove."

Looking at the descriptions given of this worship, and of the temples where it chiefly prevails, Sacred Writ would term this revenue, "the price of blood."

The Directors of the East-India Company, under better influence than seems at other times to preside over their councils, having condemned the whole system of their connexion with the superstitions of the country, many of their Servants—individuals yielding to none in devotedness for their legitimate interests, or in talents to execute their proper functions—implore the Local Governments to relieve their consciences from further participation in duties which the Honourable Court have decided ought to cease and shall be discontinued. Their respectful applications are rejected with expressions of strong displeasure; and, in individual cases, with punishment.

Meanwhile, upon other grounds, one branch of the objectionable practices is abolished by Officers of the greatest experience and authority. The change works unexceptionably. But the manes of "long-established usage" are invoked, to resuscitate the obnoxious practices; and the consciences of Christian men—all that is due to the highest in rank, and all that is most cherished by the humblest—are alike sacrificed at the shrine of an unhallowed system. While the feelings and interests of Christians are thus disregarded, the slightest whisper of dissatisfaction from a Hindoo or a Mussulman—the clamours of a drunken rabble—or the gratification of a public pensioner, politically a cipher—shall overpower the claims of the Christian Sabbath and its pure and holy worship; and force our fellow Christians to violate their duty to their God, or to incur, as the reward of their fidelity

to Him, the displeasure or dismissal of their earthly masters.

Ought such a state of things to remain unredressed?

The converse of our case is—the claims of the Natives to our protection of their rights and religion—which no one for a moment thinks of disturbing: or the danger of changes in a system of peculiar delicacy—a plea urged, for half a century past, against every improvement in our Indian Administration that affects the Natives—and in every instance falsified by experience: or, finally, the policy of conciliating them by the support of their favourite superstitions—a policy incompatible with any just views of our duty as a Christian people, and as futile as it is indefensible.

The Chairman of the Court of Directors, and the First Minister of the Crown, in their respective places, have severally stated, that the questions which form the subject of this Statement are under their serious consideration at this time. Let the sympathy of a Christian Nation, with matters of vital importance to the national character and interests, awaken, and express itself in a way to secure attention to its high and just claims. And, by the favour of Divine Providence, it will obtain such a result of the pending deliberations, as shall realize the desires and prayers of all who see, in the maintenance of the existing connexion of the East-India Company with the superstitious and idolatrous religions of India, a source of gravest offence to Almighty God—a cruel hardship to the consciences of their brethren, the Christian Servants of the Company—and to the Natives themselves, the continuance of a system alike hostile to the progress of their present improvement and to their eternal welfare.

POSTSCRIPT.

While these pages are passing through the press, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has published a Letter from the Bishop of Calcutta, containing, among various other matters of great interest in relation to that country, the views of the eminent Prelate on the subject of British connexion with Indian Idolatry.

In availing himself of the Bishop's sentiments—so opportunely published—the author leaves the glowing language of the following passage to make its just impression; deeply thankful to have his own feeble statement of this momentous question enforced by the highest Christian testimony from the scene of the unhallowed system.

"5. The connection of the British Protestant Authorities with the patronage of the basest and most degrading system of Idolatry and pollution which the lost spirit of darkness ever perhaps imposed on a fallen world—a system which has contrived an entire code of religious usages, and rewards and punishments, without any one consistent reference to moral good or evil—a code, minute, inquisitorial, all-pervasive, in which the antisocial principle of caste condemns one-half of the human race to be perpetual slaves and menials, and depresses nine-tenths of both sexes into an irrevocable and grinding exclusion from hope—a system founded in an ignorance of the God who made, and the Saviour who redeemed mankind, and going on its course by means of oppression, cruelty, and lust—the support of such a system, by the greatest and freest of the Christian Nations of Europe, is an anomaly of the most deplorable and glaring character. I scorn to advert to mere argument, after the incomparable Despatch ascribed to Lord Glenelg, of February 1833. It is a case which requires no argument. Let the fact, of British Governors, Councillors, Commissioners, Magistrates, countenancing, by voluntary measures, the misery and barbarism and premature and exaggerated ruin of their prostrate subjects, be established (and I believe they cannot be denied); and the duty of a Christian People to protest against the national guilt of such a conduct speaks for itself.

"5. I am not master of the subject in all its details. I am not aware of the particular objections to an immediate abolition of the Pilgrim-tax which are raised here, as I suppose they are, by the subordinate Local Authorities. These matters are as much secrets, and very properly so,

in India, as at home. I proceed on these two broad, and plain, and irrefragable points. The countenance of Idolatry, with its attendant horrors, in a Christian State, is, *per se*, immoral and sinful. The delay in executing the positive Orders from home, embodied in the Despatch of February 1833, if such delay was not inevitable, augments the sin.

"6. It would be wrong in me, perhaps, altogether to conceal what I hear, in conversation with Gentlemen who have lived many years in the vicinity of Pooree and the Temple of Juggernaut, and on whose veracity no doubt can for a moment be cast. They inform me, that of 150,000 pilgrims, who resort annually to the spot, nearly *one-third* perish from various causes, and never return to their homes.

"They inform me that the bands of Pilgrim-hunters, as they are termed, swarm all over India, even to the most distant provinces, to collect and drive in before them the deluded pilgrims.

"They state, that almost every year the pilgrims of the adjoining provinces are lessening, especially the men; and that the supply is now very much from the more remote places, and chiefly of women.

"They tell me, that one practice, which does not appear in any public documents, and which may, therefore, not be generally known, is of the most atrocious injustice—the compulsory assemblage of 2000 poor wretches, each year, *to drag the Idol Car*. If this one oppressive act were discontinued, many Gentlemen think the whole system of Juggernaut, like the ancient Dagon before the Ark, would instantly fall.

"7. I have been both at Juggernaut and Allahabad (the sacred junction, as it is accounted, of the Ganges and the Jumna); and my mind retains a vivid impression of the grief and compassion and horror I felt for my sad fellow-creatures, crushed under the griffin yoke of 'the god of this world.' Nor could I believe scarcely, nor can I now, that the petty sophisms of human cowardice and political expediency could chill the glowing benevolence which would strike off the chain, and set the captives free.

APPENDIX I.

COPY OF A DESPATCH FROM THE HON. COURT OF DIRECTORS TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL AT FORT WILLIAM IN BENGAL, DATED 20th FEB. 1833.

1. In the paragraphs noted in the margin*, you bring to our notice a proposition made in July 1827, by Mr. Pakenham, the officiating Commissioner in Cuttack, for altering the wording of the certificates and licences issued to pilgrims resorting to Juggernauth, under the provisions of Regulation IV. of 1809; on which occasion, Mr. Harington recorded a minute against the levy of the pilgrim-tax generally, urging its entire abolition whenever the state of the finances would permit, and in the mean time supporting the proposal for altering the form of the licence. You then state briefly in the paragraphs, and more at length in the proceedings referred to, your reasons for not concurring with either the Commissioner or Mr. Harington.

2. Previously to the proceedings which are the immediate subject of the paragraphs under reply, the same points had been brought under discussion by a Letter from Mr. Richardson, Commissioner of Cuttack, in 1814. Mr. Richardson strongly urged the abolition of the Juggernauth pilgrim-tax; and adduced, in support of his proposition, a number of arguments, which were replied to in Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell's Letter, dated 5th of February 1814.

3. And again, subsequently to the proceedings under reply, we find, that on the 16th of February 1829, in a Circular Letter from your Government on the subject of Suttee, you required from several persons, principally those in charge of districts where the pilgrim-tax is collected, their opinions on the point, whether the abolition of the pilgrim-tax would be received by the native community as a boon that would reconcile them more readily to the abolition of Suttee.

4. In 1814 and in 1827, the arguments in favour of the continuance of the tax appeared conclusive to your Government. In 1829, no resolution was passed on the subject; but in a minute of the Governor General, dated 8th November 1829, he says (pp. 160, 161), "The objections that must be entertained by all to the principle of the tax, which, in England, has latterly excited very great reprobation, formed an additional motive for the inquiry. I enclose the copy of a Circular Letter, addressed to different individuals at present in charge of the districts where the tax is collected, or who

* Letter, dated 23d November 1830, paragraphs 154 to 157.

have had opportunities, from their local knowledge, of forming a judgment upon this question. It will be seen that opinions vary; but upon a review of the whole, my conviction is, that, in connexion with the present measure, it is inexpedient to repeal the tax. It is a subject upon which I shall not neglect to bestow more attention than I have been able to do."

5. In fulfilment of the intention which the Governor General thus expressed, he has, in his minute of the 25th of March 1831, recurred to the subject of the pilgrim-tax; in respect to which, after briefly stating the conflicting opinions that have been entertained, he observes, that, for himself, he deems it the bounden duty of a Government ruling over a Hindoo and Mussulman community, and professing a respect for their religion and customs, to protect and aid them in the exercise of those harmless rites, which are not opposed, like Suttee, Infanticide and Self-immolation, to the dictates of humanity, and of every religious creed; that he therefore thinks that all those places of pilgrimage, with those who frequent them, are upon principle entitled to our special care; that a tax upon pilgrims is just and expedient; and he entirely adopts the interpretation which has been put in India on our Orders of 1814, namely, that the revenue should be first applied to the repairs of the temples connected with the comfort of the pilgrims; and that the surplus may be properly expended in roads and seraees, contributing no less to the convenience of the pilgrims than to that of the public.

6. These observations are connected with a proposition, that the surplus collections from the pilgrim-tax at Juggernauth, Gya, Allahabad, Jutta, and Sooran—amounting (as it appears by a statement accompanying the minute), on an average of the then preceding four years, to about four lacs per annum—shall be systematically appropriated to the formation of the principal roads in Bengal.

7. The question, as to the lawfulness of deriving a portion of our public revenue in India from taxes levied on the performance of pilgrimages or other religious observances by the Natives, is wholly distinct from the question in what way the funds so derived shall be applied. The former is a question involving important principles; the other is one purely of policy. We will therefore reserve for separate examination the proposed plan regarding the formation of roads, and will now consider the propriety, on general grounds, of a pilgrim-tax. On this subject, we are aware of the Orders to which the Governor General alludes, as having been formerly issued by us; but, in re-considering it, we feel the duty of availing ourselves of the light which may subsequently have

been thrown on it by experience, reflection, or the suggestions of individuals; and shall therefore state our present views as they occur, without any immediate reference to past discussions.

8. Respecting the degree of toleration due to the religion and worship of our Indian subjects, the sentiments of the Governor General are essentially our own; although we might be disposed to qualify, in some degree, the terms in which he has expressed them.

9. All religious rites and offices which are in this sense harmless, that they are not flagrantly opposed to rules of common humanity or decency, ought to be tolerated, however false the creed by which they are sanctioned. But they could not properly be said to be tolerated, if those who are engaged in them did not experience that ordinary degree of protection to which every citizen, not offending against the laws, is entitled at the hands of his rulers. A religious festival, attended by immense crowds, cannot be said to be tolerated, if the Government does not provide a police sufficient to enforce order, and to ensure the safety of individuals during the celebration. And, on the other hand, the providing of such a police is not an act of favour or friendship to the mode of worship, but one of simple justice to the worshippers.

10. Beyond this civil protection, however, we do not see that the maxims of toleration enjoin us to proceed. It is not necessary that we should take part in the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, or that we should assist in the preparations for it, or that we should afford to it such systematic support as shall accredit it in the eyes of the people, and prevent it from expiring through the effect of neglect or accident.

11. The application of these principles to the subject before us is not very difficult. Although it is possible that the Hindoo rites, or at least those of Juggernauth, are less liable than formerly to the charges of cruelty and open indecency, their essential character is of course not changed. They are at variance with the precepts and spirit of Christianity; and they seem opposed even to the plain injunctions of a natural religion. This, however, is not a reason for prohibiting them by law; and if they are not to be so prohibited, if they are to exist at all, they must receive from the civil power that measure of protection which it affords to any other act, the doing, or the not doing of which it treats as a matter of indifference. To this extent we entirely concur with Lord William Bentinck. On the other hand, we cannot conceive that a Government which believes those rites to be deeply founded in error, and to be productive, even in a civil view, of serious evil, is obliged, or

is at liberty, to show to them any degree of positive sanction or encouragement.

12. The simplest form in which a pilgrim-tax can subsist is, as an impost levied for the mere purpose of defraying the charges of the extra police employed to protect the pilgrims. To answer this description, however, the average amount of the sums raised must precisely equal that of the expenses incurred; the excess or deficiency of each year being carried to the account of the next, and the tax, if necessary, being so varied as to correct the inequality. If the tax were confined to this object, and regulated on these principles, much of the objection which has been urged against it would be obviated; while the duty incumbent on us of protecting the Natives in the observance of their religious rites would be strictly fulfilled.

13. But we are not aware that the tax exists, in any instance, in this simple and uncompounded form. It everywhere appears under modifications, or with adjuncts, more or less affecting its character and operation. We do not intend to enter into any detailed account of these varieties; nor, indeed, is the information before us, though by no means scanty, sufficient to qualify us for such an undertaking; but we will advert to a few of them, considered in relation to the questions of principle which the subject involves.

14. The first case that may be noticed is, where the sum raised by means of the tax being much larger than the maintenance of a police force would require, the surplus, or a great part of the surplus, is employed in keeping in repair the shrines, idols, or other edifices which form the local objects of the pilgrimage, or in supporting the priests and other ministers attached to them. At Juggernauth, a very considerable portion of the entire revenue raised, and, in fact, a sum much larger than the whole amount of the pilgrim-tax, appears to be applied to these purposes. It must be obvious, that, in sanctioning such an application of the money, we advance far beyond the principle of a tax levied merely for the purpose of maintaining a local police. From being simply conservators of the public peace at certain numerous assemblages of the people, we are become the chief agents in sustaining an idol establishment. The character of neutrality, with regard to the purpose of those assemblages, which we might have preserved in the former position, is entirely departed from in the latter.

15. But this is not all; for the effect of such a surplus, so applied, is to mix up the Government with the interior concerns of the idol establishment to a much greater extent than is at first

sight apparent. The provision of the funds which are to be employed in supporting the establishment, creates at once a right and a motive to watch over the expenditure. The paying the ministers and attendants of the place naturally induces, and at the same time authorises us, both to check the appointment, and to inspect the conduct of those persons. In every way we become parties to the accounts and general management of the establishment, including the supervision and disposal of its revenues, whether derived from fines, offerings, endowed lands, or from any other source.

16. It is true, that the Bengal Government, by Regulation IV. A.D. 1809, abandoned that degree of superintendence which they had previously exercised over the affairs of the temple of Juggernauth, and substituted the administration of the Rajah of Khoorda for their own. Even that Regulation, however, seems to have left too many links of the connexion, which it aimed at severing. The Rajah himself was to be responsible to the Government, and might be removed by it for misconduct. The three Dervul Purchas were to be appointed by the Collector of Cuttack, subject to the confirmation of Government, and were not to be removed from their offices without the sanction of the Supreme Government; and an account was to be rendered to the collector of the tax of all offerings and presents made to the idol. All this left in the hands of the Government a larger degree of control over the interior concerns of the establishment.

17. Arrangements, which thus implicate the Government, be it in a greater or less degree, in the immediate ministrations of the local superstitions of the Natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without any reference to their actual or probable consequences. But that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind, is evident, inasmuch as they exhibit the British Power in such intimate connexion with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief, either that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions; or, at least, that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority. Secondly,

18. We proceed, however, to consider the tax under another modification; that is, where, over and above all that is in any manner applied for the support or benefit of the local establishment, a surplus is raised for the general use of Government.

19. From the minute already referred to of Lord William Bentinck, and from the Papers Nos. 2 and 3, annexed to it, we collect that the net surplus of the pilgrim-tax at Juggernauth, Gya, Allahabad, Jutta and Sooran, taken together, now averages

at about four lacs per annum. With respect to Juggernauth, it seems, ever since the year 1815, to have been understood that the whole revenue of that place, not laid out in the immediate expenses of the establishment, should be dedicated to objects connected with the comfort or welfare of the pilgrims, and especially to the completion of the road from Calcutta to the district of Cuttack; and this last-mentioned work has, in point of fact, entirely absorbed such net revenue. From the revenues of Gya, a considerable sum was formerly, and we suppose is still, paid into the funds of the native hospital at Calcutta; but it would seem that the surplus, of which Lord William Bentinck speaks in the case of this establishment, is that which remains, after deducting all such charges; and it averages at upwards of two lacs per annum.

20. Without entering, however, into these and similar particulars, of which indeed we are not minutely informed, there appears enough, on the face of the Governor General's statement, to raise the general question, how far it is within the moral competence of the British Government to draw a revenue from such sources. In considering that question, the first impression must be adverse to a revenue so derived. Our feelings revolt at the idea of deliberately making a profit of practices, the existence of which we must deplore, and of tenets which we cannot but entirely disapprove. But it may be proper to consider the merits of the question on more practical grounds. It has been much disputed, whether the raising a considerable revenue by means of the pilgrim-tax has, on the whole, the effect of encouraging, or that of discouraging, the idol-worship with which the particular tax is connected. On the one side it is contended, that to tax any practice is to check and hinder it: on the other hand it is alleged, that this rule does not hold in the case of practices of a superstitious kind; for that the spirit of superstition is only whetted and promoted by having obstructions thrown in its way. But the disputants on both sides seem to us to fall into great inconsistency, while maintaining their respective arguments.

21. Those who defend the tax, on the ground that it operates as a hindrance to the practice of pilgrimages, surely forget, that, according to their own fundamental proposition, the British Government is under a sacred obligation to befriend and assist, instead of thwarting and obstructing, the practices of pilgrimages: for if the British Government does, in fact, thwart and obstruct that practice, by means of a tax, then, in imposing such tax, it violates, or at least evades, the obligation in question.

22. On the other side, those who argue that the pilgrim-tax, by opposing an obstacle to pilgrimages, tends to excite and inflame the

spirit for such enterprises, fall into a like inconsistency; for they forget that one of their chief topics of complaint against our Government in India is, that by making good roads to the principal pilgrim stations, and by giving other facilities to the pilgrims, we greatly promote the practice of making pilgrimages. If, as they before contended, the ardour of the pilgrims is increased by obstruction and resistance, surely it must be diminished by indulgence and encouragement.

23. We do not think it necessary to decide the question, whether the tax in its immediate operation does most tend to promote or prevent pilgrimages. It may, in different cases, operate differently, according to the temperament of the individual concerned. In most instances, however, we doubt whether it is exactly that sort of difficulty which would act as a stimulus. It is a pecuniary burden; and in order to meet it, the individual who desires to be a pilgrim must begin with providing adequate funds—a task disheartening in its nature, and which many must find impracticable. But this only concerns the immediate effect of the tax. Considering the measure in a more general view, we conceive that the system of raising a revenue, or at least a surplus revenue, by means of a pilgrim-tax, must in many ways lead to the promotion and encouragement of the superstition, out of which the tax is derived. It gives the Government an immediate interest in the progress and extension of such superstition. It furnishes, both to the Government and to such of its Functionaries as are concerned in levying the tax, supposing these to sympathize with their employers, a perpetual inducement to increase the income of the temple; and, therefore, to attract to the spot as numerous a concourse of pilgrims as possible. It is true, that the Government in India has always professed, and we doubt not very sincerely, to consider the amount of the revenue which may be obtained by means of a pilgrim-tax, as an object of trifling importance, when compared with that of conciliating the Natives by a well-arranged system for the support of their favourite superstitions.

24. This, also, has always been the feeling of the Government at home. But though the chief motive of the arrangements connected with the pilgrim-tax may have been a liberal ambition to conciliate the Natives, the natural desire of procuring financial benefit to the Company has always mixed itself with the former sentiment: neither of these objects, indeed, could be overlooked by the Company's servants, zealous as they have ever been to promote, in every way, the interests of the body by whom they have been employed.

25. In order to verify these remarks, it may not be improper to

refer to a few passages of the official correspondence in India, on the subject of the temple of Juggernauth.

26. Thus the Board of Revenue, on the 17th of June 1806, in proposing to the Bengal Government to leave the internal economy of the temple to the priests, expressly recommended this change of system, on the ground that the existing management realized so small an amount of surplus, after defraying the expenses of the temple; and that it was not calculated to promote "economy in the expenses, to increase the reputation and prosperity of the temple, or to augment the public revenue."

27. Thus, again, the same Board, when contrasting, in a Letter dated the 12th of September 1806, the systems of Juggernauth and Gya, observe: "With reference, therefore, to the substantial benefits arising to Government, from the tax upon pilgrims resorting to Gya; and, on the other hand, to the inconsiderable receipts by Government from the temple of Juggernauth since it has been under the British Government, we consider ourselves fully justified in recommending, that the rules respecting the concerns of the Juggernauth temple should be brought as near as possible to those existing at Gya.

28. Thus, lastly, the same Board, when proposing to the Government, in a Letter dated the 26th of May 1807, that the extra expenses of the temple should be defrayed by a per-centage on the collections levied on the pilgrims, express themselves as follows: "By that mode, the improvement of the funds applicable to the expenses of the temple will, in a great measure, go hand in hand with the improvement of the resources of Government; and both the proprietor or superintendant of the temple, and the priests, will find a manifest interest in encouraging the resort of the pilgrims, for the purpose of increasing the income of the temple."

29. It should be observed, that, in each of the cases to which these quotations refer, the suggestions of the Board were approved, and carried into effect by the Government.

30. We must not, however, be understood to mean, that wherever a surplus revenue is raised by means of a pilgrim-tax, the Government has a proportional interest in encouraging pilgrimages. In cases where that surplus revenue is dedicated to specific objects connected with the welfare or comfort of the pilgrims, such as roads for their use, or to the support of public charities, there is not, on the part of the Government, the same immediate interest in increasing the collections, as if the produce of them were to be applied to the public service in general: still, the same effect is

produced *pro tanto;* for roads and hospitals are of general advantage; and the expense of supporting them, if there were no pilgrim-tax to defray it, would be in danger of becoming a charge on the general funds of the State.

31. On the whole, we conceive that the principles of toleration do not require that we should promote the growth and popularity of superstitions, the prevalence of which, every rational and religious mind must lament: and we are therefore of opinion, that any system which directly connects the pecuniary interests of the State with the extension of such superstitions, is, for that reason, objectionable, and ought to terminate. Thirdly,

32. We proceed next to consider another part of the system; namely, the gomastahs, or agents, who are employed in travelling throughout India, for the purpose of enticing the pilgrims to the several shrines and temples of repute. These men receive a fee from every pilgrim whom they can persuade to visit the particular seat of superstition to which they are attached: they have, consequently, a direct interest in enticing as many as possible; and they, in fact, seem to discharge their vocation with astonishing industry, dexterity, and success.

33. The information, however, before us does not enable us to judge how far the rules for levying pilgrim-tax, at the different shrines, implicate our Government in encouraging and patronizing the Pilgrim-hunters in question.

34. In the case of Juggernauth, the collector of the tax in 1806 recommended it to the Bengal Government, to permit the pundas and purharees, by whom the Pilgrim-hunters are employed, to collect their fees personally from the pilgrims, according to a table of rates fixed at the temple. The object was, to secure to the pilgrims good treatment from their conductors; and accordingly, by the Reg. IV. 1806, section 6, this proposition was carried into effect. But Reg. IV. 1809, which rescinded the former, does not appear to have laid down any rule as to the fees alluded to; nor are we aware that there exists any subsequent regulation containing directions on the subject.

35. By the Regulation XVIII. 1810, which specifies the duties to be paid by pilgrims of different classes resorting to Allahabad, "all the other duties or fees at the Ghaut, or within the Fort, or at any other place, are prohibited": from which we should be inclined to infer that the Pilgrim-conductors there are not paid by the pilgrims in person, but receive from Government a portion of the general tax.

36. At Gya, where a very extensive system of pilgrim-hunting appears to prevail, the fees arising out of it are, we presume, fixed by custom; there being no printed regulations relative to the pilgrim-tax at that place.

37. In the absence of any specific information, we are nevertheless inclined to think, that at all these places the British authority does, in some way, ensure to the conductors of the pilgrims the payment of their fees: for probably such payment is exacted as a condition of the entrance of the pilgrims within the precincts of the temple; and that entrance is immediately guarded by the police or soldiery of our Government.

38. The system of pilgrim-hunting seems to be closely, if not inseparably, connected with the whole system of pilgrimages as prevailing in India, and would probably subsist even if there were no pilgrim-tax levied by authority; for so long as it is the interest of the priests and ministers of the temples to attract votaries whose offerings and expenditure shall enrich their respective establishments, so long it will, of course, be their policy to employ emissaries for the purposes of inducing men to become votaries, and to stimulate the zeal of those emissaries by giving to them a share of the resulting profits. But it does not follow, that because this evil must exist, therefore the British Government must be a party to it, still less must promote and extend it. There can be little doubt that the exertion of the pilgrim-hunters and their employers are incited and quickened by the assurance which the known good faith and exactness of the British Government hold out to them, that their fees will be levied and paid with scrupulous punctuality. Thus the credit and authority of the Government are perverted to the support of a manifest and revolting abuse.

39. If it were necessary that the system of pilgrim-taxes should in other respects continue, and that the officers employed in conducting the pilgrims should be paid under the authority of the State, it might be worthy of consideration, whether they should not receive fixed salaries, in lieu of all fees and perquisites, and with a liability to severe punishment if they should be found to make any further demands on the pilgrims, or to take or receive from them any gratuity. Probably, however, the prohibition would be evaded; and, on the whole, it is, in our opinion, evident that the remuneration of the conductors should be left entirely to be settled between them and the devotees under their charge, the Government neither regulating the amount nor compelling the payment.—Fourthly,

40. Having already considered the general question as to the propriety of deriving any surplus revenue for the use of the State from a pilgrim-tax, we are induced to particularize one method in which such revenue may be raised. An example of this method is furnished by the Temple of Tripetty. Government sells to a considerable number of tradesmen the exclusive right of serving the pilgrims, in the way of their respective trades, during the continuance of the festival.

41. Although we feel little doubt that this practice has descended to the British Government from prior times, we cannot but view it with disapprobation. If the liberty of worshipping in the temple is to be made a source of gain to the Government, at least let the Government deal directly and at first hand with the worshippers; and let the whole amount of what the worshippers pay, after re-imbursing the expenses of the temple, be received into the public exchequer. In this way, the tax will bear lightest on the pilgrims, and will at the same time be most productive to the State. But in the case under consideration, the tradesmen who are licensed by the Government must be tempted to make a profit on the pilgrims; and this profit is an additional tax levied on the pilgrims, exclusive of the sum which the tradesmen pay to the Government for their monopoly. The pilgrims, therefore, are always burdened beyond what the system of a pilgrim-tax requires; and being at the mercy of the tradesmen, it may be feared that they occasionally suffer oppression.

42. We are inclined to think that the practice to which we have referred, or some variety of it, subsists in other places as well as Tripetty; but our information does not enable us to speak positively.

43. There is yet one point which we would notice.

44. In whatever degree it may be thought necessary that the British Government should superintend the pecuniary concerns of places of religious celebrity in India, even at the risk of promoting the idol-worship connected with such places, there can be no reason why the Government should be an immediate party to the ceremonies either preparatory or essential to the worship in question, or should gratuitously incur the suspicion of bearing that character.

45. Yet such seems to be the fact. In Allahabad, for instance, the Barbers, a very important class in the ceremonies of that place, are registered by the collector, and subject to certain rules, enforced, we presume, by authority of that officer. At Gya, no such register exists. Why should such interposition and superintendence be more necessary at Allahabad than at Gya? Again, at Juggernauth,

the most gorgeous part of the decorations with which the cars at the festival are embellished, consists in cloths directly supplied by our own warehouses. In a Letter, dated the 19th December 1807, from Mr. Webb, then the Collector of Cuttack, to the Board of Revenue at Fort William, it is stated, that the cloths for covering the cars "were formerly supplied by the Soubahs, and since by the Commissioners and Collector; the officers of the temple declaring themselves incapable of procuring them.

46. Mr. Webb proceeds to recommend that the whole quantity, being 480 yards, of which one piece must be superfine cloth, should be supplied from our warehouses; and he immediately remarks, that the colours were of no consequence, but that there must be variety. This suggestion seems to have been adopted. Mr. Stirling, who saw the great festival at Juggernauth in 1822, observes, that the splendour of the covering of striped and spangled broad-cloth, furnished from our export warehouses, compensated in a great measure for the meanness with which the cars were in other respects decorated.

47. When this matter is closely considered, it may seem somewhat less objectionable, than at first sight. The broad-cloth of which Mr. Stirling speaks, is not an offering, nor even a present: it is, in fact, one of the expenses of the idol-worship, which is in the first instance defrayed by our Government, and against which they, of course, set off an equivalent part of the surplus revenue received from the pilgrim-tax. Yet, being furnished at first hand by the Government, and forming an important feature in the idol ceremony, and attracting all eyes by its gaudiness, this cloth is, we doubt not, considered, by the great majority of the attending devotees, as a free-will oblation made to the idol. On the other hand, and perhaps for the same reasons, no part of our proceedings with relation to the idol-worship of Juggernauth has given so great offence to the opponents of the pilgrim-tax as the circumstance, that we should thus consent to dress up the idol equipage with our own hands.

48. For the reasons that we have assigned, the several practices above described ought, in our opinion, to be abrogated or discontinued. In that case, a question might be raised, whether so much of the tax is still to be levied as may be required for the maintenance of a police force at the stations where the pilgrims assemble. We do not indeed think, that any principle of conscience opposes the levying of a pilgrim-tax for the purpose in question; and the convenience of such a tax must be obvious, since the use of a police force at the station is, as we have before argued, indispensable. Still, a pilgrim-tax is open to grave objections, and to some arising

from the very limitation itself. On the one hand, the Natives accustomed to the tax may continue to infer from it, that the British Government peculiarly approves their superstitions. On the other hand, they may feel but too sensibly the difference between the old and new taxes; and may resent an impost on their religious usages, the whole produce of which goes into the coffers of Government, without at all contributing (as far as it appears) to the maintenance of the temples concerned. On the whole, we think that the pilgrim-tax should be extinguished altogether; leaving it to the priests to admit votaries on whatever terms they please, but securing the presence of a competent force of police or soldiery to maintain order during the great festivals.

49. The accounts before us do not show if any addition—or, if any, what addition—to the ordinary expense of a force for the conservation of the public peace is rendered necessary by the occurrence of the festivals; but we cannot conceive that this amount will be considerable.

50. As far, indeed, as we are able to collect from the answers (already mentioned) to the Governor-General's Circular of 16th February 1829, we are induced to doubt the necessity of any accession of this kind. Mr. W. Blount, after dwelling on the necessity of protecting pilgrims from robbers, &c., adds, "The regular police establishments entertained at Juggernauth, Gya, and Allahabad, are, I believe, quite adequate for the purpose.

51. Mr. G. F. Brown, speaking of the Allahabad station, observes, "The maintenance of extra police-establishments, for the purpose of preserving peace and tranquillity, has, I believe, never been found necessary at this station."

52. Mr. Calder's observations are well worthy of attention, especially as they involve facts illustrative of the point at issue: "That the inconveniences which have been suggested to his Lordship, as likely to be produced by the withdrawal of the interference of Government from the management of the teeruths or places of pilgrimage, are not necessary consequences of such a measure, may be shown by reference to the case of Kolee Ghat, near Calcutta; Tripetty, in the Dukhan, Nazick, and other places on the western side of India; where the people, who resort thither from all parts of India, are left to make their own arrangement with the priests, without any protection from the civil or military power of Government. I am therefore clearly of opinion, that excepting at Hardwar, where opposite sets of devotees have been in the habit of resorting to personal conflict in maintenance of their respective opinions, Government need not be put to any expense in the protection of Hindoo pilgrims."

53. No less remarkable is the testimony given by Mr. Trotter:—"If the tax at Gya were done away, it is probable that the attendance of one or two peons at the temple, to prevent the disorder natural in all crowds, is all that would be absolutely necessary."

54. Mr. Trotter, in a note, relates some important facts:—"In Benares, the temples are not superintended by Government, and there are no Government taxes; and the people, I understand, give little or no trouble to the magistrate.

"At Rydenoth in Beerbhoom, also, no tax is paid. 100,000 pilgrims visit the temple in the year, and I believe there is no trouble with them: of these, I believe about 25,000 pass annually through this district; their progress is marked by perfect order and quietness.

"At Benares, however, the rights of the priests seem more settled than at either Allahabad or Gya. Disputes both at Allahabad and Gya occur in regard to the rights of the priests to pilgrims. This point, however, could probably easily be fixed."

55. These testimonies are, in our view, decisive against the necessity of creating a police expressly for the purpose in question. It is with much satisfaction that we arrive at this conclusion, and because the subject is thus disembarrassed of the only serious difficulty of a practical nature in the way of a complete extinction of the tax.

56. We have, in the preceding remarks, adverted to the apprehensions entertained by some persons, that the abolition of the pilgrim-tax would be regarded by the Hindoo with dread and regret, as indicating the withdrawal of the protection hitherto afforded to the religion by this Government, and as leading to further measures of the same character. From the Papers before us, from the tenor of the answers to the Governor-General's Circular, and also from general principles, we think it is at least as probable that the impression resulting from the abolition would be of an opposite description:—we mean, that the Hindoos would view the abolition as a boon, and as a new proof of special toleration; and that, in this view, it would tend to increase the popularity of British Administration. We do not wish to lay much stress on this topic, because it is not mainly by such considerations that we must regulate our Indian Administration; but it is important to bear it in mind, as a set-off against anticipations, so often indulged in, of a different effect.

57. In drawing to a conclusion, we cannot resist the temptation of inserting the recorded judgment on this subject of a man not more able and enlightened than experienced and practically wise;—we mean Mr. Stirling, whose premature death must ever be regarded as a public calamity:—

"It has always appeared to me, that if we abolish the tax at

Juggernauth, throw down the barriers which encircle the town, and at the same time withdraw from the system of patronage, interference, and regulation, naturally and almost unavoidably resulting from the existing order of things, the certain eventual consequence would be, a gradual decline of the sanctity of the temple, and the cessation of its peculiar fame and attraction as a place of religious resort.

"An efficient police must of course, under all circumstances, be maintained, as at present, for preserving the peace and preventing the commission of crimes in the town of Juggernauth and its vicinity; and the regular civil tribunals of the country would be open to the priests and managers of Juggernauth, as of all the temples, for the adjustment of matters properly falling under the cognisance of public authority. No extra police, or other officers, would need to be entertained, if the tax were abolished. We should only, in that event, abandon the special care and protection of the interests of the temple of Juggernauth, which are manifested throughout the provisions of Reg. IV. of 1809: we should cease to provide guards for it from our regular sephahees, to appoint its head priests, and to supply the broad-cloth which decorates the cars at the great annual exhibition. The Rajah of Khoorda, who is the superintendant, would be left to settle as best he might, in concert with his Council of Dewal Purchas, questions respecting the internal economy, and propose usages of the institution; and the Collector would no longer be mixed up with the detailed regulation of its affairs and the conduct of its public ceremonies. Doubtless, under the new system, matters would not be so well managed as at present. Numerous abuses and gross irregularities would prevail, and the whole concern would gradually sink into neglect and disrepute; but for this result the British Government would not be responsible, and assuredly it is not one which we should have any occasion to regret.

"I have said nothing on the financial part of the question; as Government alone can decide, whether, admitting the present system to be objectionable, the net revenue derived from the tax on pilgrims, at Gya, Allahabad, Juggernauth, and elsewhere, is of sufficient importance to counterbalance the discredit, and the many evils which arise out of its impositions."

58. In stating to you, however, our distinct opinion respecting the abolition, not only of the pilgrim-tax, but of the practices to which we have referred, as either connected with it or bearing a similar construction, we desire to repeat, that we are rather holding up a standard to which you are ultimately to conform your policy, than prescribing a rule which you are instantly, and without respect of circumstances, to carry into accomplishment.

59. We are sensible that this is one of those subjects respecting which it is peculiarly difficult to give from this country more than general instructions.

60. As to the details of any measure regarding it—the time, the degree, the manner, the gradation, the precautions—these must, in an especial sense, rest with the Local Government.

61. To you, therefore, they must be consigned: and we so consign them, in perfect reliance on the experience, liberality, and enlightened judgment of our Governor-General in Council. But while we commit without hesitation into your hands the details of execution, we feel it at the same time our duty to communicate to you our general views and intentions.

62. Finally, it may be convenient to recapitulate, in a brief series, the principal conclusions resulting from the preceding discussion.

They are the following:—First, That the interference of British Functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease.

Secondly, That the pilgrim-tax shall everywhere be abolished.

Thirdly, That fines and offerings shall no longer be considered as sources of revenue by the British Government; and they shall consequently no longer be collected or received by the servants of the East-India Company.

Fourthly, That no servant of the East-India Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection, or management, or custody of moneys, in the nature of fines or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained, or whether furnished in cash or in kind.

Fifthly, That no servant of the East-India Company shall hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources.

Sixthly, That, in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves.

Seventhly, That in every case in which it has been found necessary to form and keep up a police force, specially with a view to the peace and security of the pilgrims or the worshippers, such police shall hereafter be maintained, and made available, out of the general revenues of the country.

63. Much caution and many gradations may be necessary, in

acting on the conclusions at which we have arrived. Among other concomitant measures, such explanations should be given to the Natives, as shall satisfy them, that, so far from abandoning the principles of a just toleration, the British Government is resolved to apply them with more scrupulous accuracy than ever; and that this proceeding is, in truth, no more than a recurrence to that state of real neutrality from which we ought never to have departed.

64. Nor, in enjoying only a gradual approach to the desired end, do we exclude from our view the possible expediency of commencing with some one of the great superstitious establishments, and of extending the improvement to the rest, only in the event of the complete success of the first experiment.

65. All this process, however, we leave to be regulated by the judgment and experience of our Governor-General in Council; who, we are persuaded, will carry our views into effect with all prudent and practicable expedition.

66. In reference to the financial part of the question, you will furnish us with a statement of all our receipts, whether from pilgrim-tax, offerings, lands, fees, or any other source; and of all our expenses, for the last ten years, on account of Hindoo and Mahomedan places of worship and religious establishments under the three Presidencies;— in which statement you will include as much of the charges of police, roads, bridges, choultries, hospitals, law expenses, charitable allowances and donations, and all other branches of expenditure, as are strictly connected with the Hindoo or Mahomedan religion. It will however be necessary for you to procure from the Government of Fort St. George a correct statement of all collections derived from lands or from any other sources, which have been assigned for the support of native temples at that Presidency, where there appears in 1829-30 to have been an excess of disbursement beyond the receipts, to the large amount of rupees 517,240: and you will require a similar statement from the Government of Bombay.

We are your affectionate friends,

(Signed) I. G. Ravenshaw,
C. Marjoribanks,
&c. &c.

London, Feb. 20, 1833.

No. 4.—MISCELLANEOUS REVENUE DEPARTMENT, 20th Feb. 1837.
Our Governor-General of India, in Council.

1. THE Despatch in this Department, dated the 20th February 1833, entered at great length into a review of some of the principal questions on the subject of the pilgrim-tax, with reference to the possibility of its ultimate abolition.

2. The subject being one respecting which it was considered "peculiarly difficult to give from this country more than general instructions," that despatch left in your hands the "details of any measure regarding it, the time, the degree, the manner, the gradation, and the precautions," necessary to be observed in respect of any scheme which you might deem it expedient to recommend in furtherance of the views therein presented: and we directed, in reference to the financial part of the question, that you would furnish "a statement of all our receipts, whether from pilgrim-tax, offerings, lands, fees, or any other source, and of all our expenses for the last ten years on account of Hindoo and Mahomedan Places of Worship and Religious Establishments under the three Presidencies: in which statement you would include as much of the charges of police, roads, bridges, choultries, hospitals, law expenses, charitable allowances, and donations, and all such other branches of expenditure as are strictly connected with the Hindoo or Mahomedan religions."

3. The despatch further directed, that you "should procure from the Government of Fort St. George a correct statement of all collections derived from lands, or from any other sources, which have been assigned for the support of native temples at that Presidency, where there appears in 1829-30 to have been an excess of disbursement beyond the receipts to the large amount of rupees 5,17,240; and you will require a similar statement from the Government of Bombay."

4. This despatch appears to have been received by your late Government about the 25th of June 1833: and directions were given, shortly afterwards, to the Accountant-General at Calcutta, and to the Governments of Madras and Bombay, to furnish the required information.

5. You appear to have received certain statements from Bombay about January 1834; and on the 7th of July 1834, you directed a return, which had been made by the Accountant in the Revenue Department, under the instructions of the Accountant-General in

Calcutta—and which is recorded on your consultations of the 29th August 1834, but which exhibits "only the money collections, and gives no information of the receipts or value of lands assigned for these purposes, &c."—to be revised, and assimilated to those received from the Bombay Presidency.

6. The total income derived on account of Hindoo and Mahomedan Places of Worship under that Presidency, for ten years, ending with 1832-33, appears, by the statement above referred to, to have been rupees 10,38,541; and the disbursements for the same period, rupees 80,24,177.

7. On the 29th August, and the 20th September, the Government of Bombay and the Accountant-General at Calcutta were, it appears, respectively called on to furnish statements of a more comprehensive nature than those which had been received from Bombay. You noticed the delay which had occurred at the Madras Presidency, in transmitting the required information from thence; and on the 23d of February, 1835, you repeated your call on the Accountant-General at Calcutta.

8. Your Letters in this department, dated the 29th June, and 10th November, 1835, inform us that the amended statements will be transmitted as soon as received; and that the consideration of the general subject will be resumed as soon as all the required information is in your possession.

9. The details and minuteness of the accounts, and the retrospect they are required to take, embracing a period of ten years, must necessarily have required a considerable time for their due preparation; but it is desirable that no unnecessary delay should take place, in bringing forward the whole subject fully and intelligibly, in all its bearings, on the financial interests, on the political obligations, and on the moral character of our Government.

We are your affectionate friends,

(Signed) J. R. Carmac,
J. Loch,
&c. &c.

London, Feb. 22, 1837.

APPENDIX II.

A MEMORIAL TO THE GOVERNOR IN COUNCIL OF FORT ST. GEORGE, PRAYING FOR EQUAL RELIGIOUS TOLERATION TO ALL SUBJECTS OF THE STATE.—*Madras*, 1836.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

After reiterated representations to the Authorities in England, pointing out the sin and wickedness of giving that direct encouragement to Idolatry which was given by the system of Government in India, a Letter was at length obtained from the Court of Directors to the Governor-General of India, directing that the connexion between the Government and Idolatry should be put an end to, and free toleration conceded to every inhabitant of India. The following is a copy of the Honourable Court's Letter.

Extract from the Despatch of the Honourable Court of Directors to the Supreme Government, dated February 28, 1833.

" Arrangements which implicate the Government, be it in a greater or less degree, in the immediate ministrations of the local superstitions of the Natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without any reference to their actual or probable consequences: but that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind, is evident, inasmuch as they exhibit the British Power in such intimate connexion with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with a belief, either that we admit the divine origin of those superstitions, or, at least, that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority."—" We conceive that the principles of toleration do not require that we should promote the growth and popularity of superstitions, the prevalence of which, every rational religious mind must lament."

And the Honourable Court finally direct, in the foregoing despatch—

" That the interference of British Functionaries in the interior management of native temples, in the customs, habits, and religious proceedings of their priests and attendants, in the arrangement of their ceremonies, rites and festivals, and generally in the conduct of their interior economy, shall cease."

" That no servant of the Company shall hereafter be engaged in the collection, or management, or custody of moneys, in the nature of fines

or offerings, under whatsoever name they may be known, or in whatever manner obtained; or whether furnished in cash, or in kind."

"That no servant of the Company shall hereafter derive any emolument resulting from the above-mentioned or any similar sources."

"That, in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be entirely left to themselves."

No step having, as it appears, been taken to carry into effect the Honourable Court's Letter within the Presidency of Madras, it was thought advisable, by its members and inhabitants, to present the following Memorial to the Government of Fort St. George upon the subject.

"To the Right Honourable Sir FREDERICK ADAM, K.C.B.
Governor in Council, Fort St. George.*

"RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR—We the undersigned Ministers and Members of the different Denominations of Protestant Christians, in the Presidency of Fort St. George, beg leave most respectfully to approach your Excellency in Council, to lay before you various instances in which we humbly conceive the principles of religious toleration to be widely departed from under this Government;

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* This Memorial was forwarded by the Bishop of Madras to the Government of Fort St. George, with the following Letter.

"To the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK ADAM, Governor in Council.

"RIGHT HON. SIR—I have the honour to transmit to your Excellency in Council, at the request of those who have signed it, a Memorial, together with the original signatures to it, enumerating instances wherein those, whose duty it is to engage in them, feel themselves aggrieved by practices and orders which seem to them contrary to the command of God; thereby subjecting them to the painful alternative of violating the dictates of their consciences, or incurring the displeasure of the Government;—and praying that the same toleration and exemptions, which have been long granted to their Heathen and Mahomedan fellow-subjects, may be extended to the Christian Members of this Presidency.

"It is my duty to state, that I fully concur in every part of the Memorial, and its prayer; and I earnestly hope that it may be thought fitting to concede the full measure of relief prayed—and, in respect to such part as rests alone with the Government of India to grant, that your Excellency in Council will be pleased to transmit the Memorial to the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council, with your powerful recommendation in its favour.

"I have the honour to be, Right Hon. Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"*Madras, 6th August*, 1836. (Signed) "DANIEL MADRAS."

subjecting those of us who are members of the Civil or Military branches of the Service to great and peculiar personal grievance.

" We venture at the same time, with much deference, also to express to your Excellency in Council, the pain with which we behold the Christian Government of this Presidency, and its Officers, affording encouragement to, and still identified with the idolatry and superstitions of our native fellow-subjects, in opposition, as it appears to us, to the Orders on this subject of the Honourable the Court of Directors, addressed to the Supreme Government under date the 28th of February 1833—to the Word of God—and to the best interests of those who have, by His overruling Providence, been subjected to British Dominion in Southern India.

" We beg leave, in proof of our statement, to bring to your Excellency's knowledge, as matters of grievance—

" 1. That it is now required of Christian Servants of the Government, both Civil and Military, to attend Heathen and Mahomedan religious festivals, with the view of showing them respect.

" 2. That in some instances they are called upon to present offerings and to do homage to Idols.

" 3. That the impure and degrading services of the pagoda are now carried on under the supervision and control of the principal European, and therefore Christian, Officers of the Government; and the management and regulation of the revenues and endowments, both of the pagodas and mosques, are so vested in them, under the provisions of Regulations VII. of 1817, that no important idolatrous ceremony can be performed, no attendant of the various Idols, not even the prostitutes of the temple, be entertained or discharged, nor the least expense incurred, without the official concurrence and orders of the Christian Functionary.

" 4. That British Officers, with the troops of the Government, are also now employed in firing salutes, and in otherwise rendering honour to Mahomedan and Idolatrous Ceremonies, even on the Sabbath Day; and Christians are thus not unfrequently compelled, by the authority of Government, to desecrate their own most sacred institutions, and to take part in unholy and degrading superstitions.

" Protestant soldiers, members of the Church of England, we may add, have also been required, contrary to the principle declared in His Majesty's Regulations, that every soldier shall be 'at liberty to worship God according to the forms prescribed by his religion,' to be present at, and participate in, the worship of the Church of Rome.

"By the requisition of the foregoing and similar duties, we cannot but sensibly feel, that not only are the Christian servants of the State constrained to perform services incompatible with their most sacred obligations, and their just rights and privileges as Christians infringed; but that our holy Religion is also dishonoured in the eyes of the people; and public and official sanction and support given to idolatry and superstitions destructive to the soul, and apostacy from the only True and Living God.

"We believe, also, that your Excellency in Council will, on inquiry, find, that the prescribed interference of the Christian Officer with their religious services, mosques, and endowments, is not in unison with the feelings and faith of our Mahomedan fellow-subjects, and that there is therefore no valid ground whatever for its existence in this Presidency. And although our Heathen fellow-subjects, we can scarcely doubt, are generally gratified by the honour rendered by the Government to their Idols, still we have the strongest reason to question whether official support, at present given to their superstitions, is, in all its extent, desired by the great mass of the people. We may cite, as one instance peculiarly deserving of your Excellency's attention, the drawing of the idol car: – this onerous task is now only effected, throughout this Presidency, by the agency of the police; thousands of the poorer classes being *forced*, under the orders of the Collector and Magistrate, from their homes, for the performance of the special duty, without, in the great majority of cases, the slightest compensation. And whatever may be the wishes and sentiments of the individuals immediately connected with the pagodas, we are fully assured, that this interference is viewed by the great body of the people, both land-owners and their labourers, as a vexatious and oppressive exercise of power, to which they submit *only* on compulsion. It is, we conceive, therefore certain, that this baneful part of the debasing idolatry of the land is now upheld and carried on in this Presidency *solely* by the interposition and authority of the British Government*.

"Entertaining these sentiments, and deeply convinced that we are by these acts resisting the will of God, by whose blessing alone this or any nation can prosper, whilst we are not less firmly persuaded that positive injustice is done under the existing system to the Protestant subjects and servants of the State, we most respectfully, yet most earnestly, entreat your Excellency in Council to be pleased to take this subject into early and deliberate consideration, and to afford, to the utmost of your power, to Chris-

* See Note at the conclusion.

tianity, and to ourselves as members of the Protestant community, the same toleration and exemption from requirements contrary to our consciences as are enjoyed by members of all other persuasions.

" We explicitly disclaim, as utterly inconsistent with our principles as Christians, all desire that the liberty of conscience, so fully and justly accorded to the Mahomedan and Heathen, should be in any degree violated. Our sole object and wish is, to see the true principles of religious toleration, declared in the instructions of the Honourable the Court of Directors, already referred to, practically and universally enforced; believing the policy there marked out, of a 'real neutrality,' to be as safe and salutary as it is wise.

" We would most humbly pray, therefore, that, in accordance with those instructions, all superior Officers of this Government may be henceforth strictly prohibited from issuing orders or affording encouragement to Mahomedan or Heathen rites and festivals — That it be not hereafter required of any Christian servant of the State, Civil or Military, of any grade, to make an offering, or to be present at, or to take part in, any Idolatrous or Mahomedan act of worship or religious festival—That the firing of salutes, the employment of military bands, and of the Government troops, in honour of Idolatrous or Mahomedan processions or ceremonies, and all similar observances, which infringe upon liberty of conscience, and directly 'promote the growth and popularity of the debasing superstitions of the country,' be discontinued—That such parts of Regulation VII. of 1817 as identify the Government with Mahomedanism and Heathenism, be rescinded; and every class of persons left, as the Honourable Court of Directors has enjoined, *entirely to themselves*, to follow their religious duties according to the dictates of their consciences.

" Aware, however, that the execution of the Orders of the Honourable Court is entrusted to the Supreme Government, and that it will not be in the power of your Excellency to comply with all these requests, we earnestly and respectfully solicit that measure of present relief which your Excellency in Council may see fit to grant; and that a copy of this address, supported by your Excellency's powerful recommendation, may be forwarded to the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India in Council, with a view to the attainment of the full measure of relief hereby sought.

" In conclusion, we entreat the attention of your Excellency to the facts detailed in the following Appendix; every one of which, we

take the liberty to state, has been, and will, if necessary, be again authenticated, by individuals subscribing this address. And with our fervent prayer that your Excellency in Council may be guided, on this important subject, by Him, to whom belong all the nations of the earth—and that your consultations may be directed to the advancement of His glory, the good of His Church, and the safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and his dominions,—

"We have the honour to subscribe ourselves,

"With unfeigned respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient servants,

"Henry Harper, Archdeacon of Madras.
F. Spring, Junior Presidency Chaplain.
R. A. Denton, Garrison Chaplain, Madras.
W. Thomas Blenkinsop, Chaplain, Madras.
Geo. Jas. Laurie, D. D. Senior Presbyterian Chaplain, Madras.
M. Bowie, A. M. Junior Presbyterian Chaplain, Madras.
J. Tucker, B. D. Minister of the Church Mission Chapel, Madras.
G. J. Cubitt, A. M. Chaplain, Madras.
J. Smith, Minister of Davidson-Street Chapel, Madras.
W. H. Drew, Missionary.
Robert Carver, Missionary.
H. Harley, Missionary.
W. Taylor, Missionary.
A. C. Thompson, Missionary.
Jos. Wright, Chaplain, Bangalore.
J. Hallewell, Chaplain, Cuddalore.
J. C. Street, Chaplain, Cannanore.
V. Shortland, Chaplain, Bangalore.
W. Tomes, Chaplain, Arcot.
J. C. Kohlhoff, Missionary.
C. T. E. Rhenius, Missionary.
V. D. Coombes, Missionary.
C. Calthorpe, Missionary.
P. P. Schaffter, Missionary.
J. J. Müller, Missionary.
J. M. Lechler, Missionary.
Geo. Pettitt, Missionary.
Chas. Blackman, Missionary.

" T. H. Applegate, Missionary.
Edward Dent, Missionary.
Samuel Hebich, Missionary.
J. Chr. Lehner, Missionary.
C. L. Greiner, Missionary.
C. Campbell, Missionary.
T. Hodson, Missionary.
E. J. Jones, Missionary.
B. Bailey, Missionary.
Henry Baker, Missionary.
J. Peet, Missionary.
D. Schreyvogel, Missionary.
A. F. Caemmerer, Missionary.
S. Ridsdale, Missionary.
W. J. Woodcock, Missionary.
Bernhard Schmid, Missionary.
J. Reid, Missionary.
Geo. Walton, Missionary.
T. C. Simpson, Missionary.
Charles Hubbard, Missionary.
J. K. Walpole, Missionary.
Ed. Kohl, Missionary.
W. Howell, Missionary.
J. Ketchen, Lieut. Col. Artillery.
Geo. Cadell, Lieut. Col. Retired List.
T. M. Lane, Medical Establishment.
E. Armstrong, Major, H. M. S.
H. Stones, Major, H. M. S.
A. Crawford, Major, Artillery.
P. Cator, Registrar Supreme Court.
J. F. Thomas, Additional Government Commissioner, and Acting 3d Judge Provincial Court.
A. F. Bruce, Collector of Guntoor.
A. T. Cotton, Captain, Engineers.
H. M. Blair, Collector of Trichinopoly.
H. Webb, Major, H. M. S.
J. Bell, Major, N. I.
C. A. Browne, Captain, Deputy Assistant Adjutant General of the Army.
J. M. Rowlandson, Captain, Persian Interpreter at Head Quarters, Madras.
H. V. Conolly, Acting Additional Government Commissioner, and Cashier Government Bank.

" W. Garrard, Lieut. Engineers.
S. O. E. Ludlow, Lieutenant, Engineers.
C. M. Macleane, Captain, N. I.
Geo. Arbuthnot, Merchant and Agent.
G. J. Beauchamp, Register Provincial Court.
George J. Casamajor, Judge Provincial Court, and Acting Principal Collector of Cuddapah.
Joseph Bainbridge, Merchant and Agent.
George Walker, Lieut. H. M. S.
J. M. Johnston, Ensign, N. I.
H. J. Brockman, Lieut. N. I.
J. Mylne, Ensign, N. I.
W. H. Boswell, Ensign, N. I.
J. Flockton, Assistant Surgeon.
J. L. Innes, Lieutenant and Adjutant, H. M. S.
Augustus Clarke, Captain, Secretary Mysore Commission.
A. Cuppage, Lieut. N. I.
E. Francklyn, Captain, Madras Eur. Regt.
J. C. Coffin, Captain, N. I.
D. H. Stevenson, Lieut. N. I.
John Glynn, Lieut. N. I.
J. Briggs, Captain, Assistant Commissioner, Mysore.
Richard Budd, Captain, Assistant Commissioner, Mysore.
P. J. Begbie, Captain, Artillery.
Robert Story, Paymaster, H. M. 13th Dragoons.
Chas. J. Smith, Assistant Surgeon.
R. S. Dobbs, Lieut. Assistant Commissioner, Mysore.
H. Nuthall, Ensign, N. I.
Fredk. Chalmers, Captain, Assistant Commissioner, Mysore.
D. Boyd, Surgeon.
H. A. Hornsby, Captain, N. I.
J. Wynch, Captain, Artillery.
T. J. Baldwin, Captain, Artillery.
A. F. Oakes, Lieutenant, Artillery.
S. Philips, Lieutenant, H. M. S.
Stamford Thomas Watson, Cornet, Cavalry.
Francis Straton, Captain, Cavalry.
J. G. Cadell, Cornet, Cavalry.
F. Scott, Cornet, Cavalry.
C. Price, Surgeon.
H. H. Freeling, Cornet, Cavalry.
G. Chester, Veterinary Surgeon.
T. Newberry, Cornet, Cavalry.

" J. Bourdillon, Head Assistant to the Collector of Trichinopoly.
E. Butcher, Captain, N. I.
C. Whittingham, Assistant to the Collector of South Arcot.
E. B. Thomas, Sub-Collector of South Arcot.
R. J. Nixon, Captain, N. I.
F. Anderson, Sub-Collector of Canara.
C. Poulton, Major, Veterans.
Geo. Brown, Captain, N. I.
C. F. Kirby, Lieutenant, N. I.
W. Gibb, Lieutenant, N. I.
F. W. Todd, Lieutenant, N. I.
H. Walker, Lieutenant, N. I.
H. T. Hillyard, Lieutenant, N. I.
E. Buckle, Lieutenant, Engineers.
Frederick Minchin, Captain, N. I.
J. Morton, Assistant Surgeon.
H. Armstrong, Lieutenant Engineers.
William Cecil Ogilvie, Sub-Collector of Salem.
J. Tulloch, Esq.
G. F. Fisher, Esq.
E. J. Cox, Ensign, N. I.
Frederick Mole, Registrar Zillah Court Salem.
A. Mackenzie, Captain, N. I.
G. Rowlandson, Lieutenant, Artillery.
John M. Madden, Lieutenant, N. I.
G. Hamond, Captain, N. I.
C. Stafford, Lieutenant, N. I.
John Parnell, Esq.
Edward B. Glass, Zillah Judge.
H. C. Cotton, Captain, Engineers.
J. Inverarity, Lieutenant, Engineers.
Atwell Lake, Lieutenant, Engineers.
J. Ouchterlony, Lieutenant, Engineers.
R. Alexander, Assistant Quarter Master General, Hydrabad Subsidiary Force.
John Hine, Lieutenant, Adjutant, H. M. S.
E. T. Clarke, Captain, N. I.
F. F. Whinyates, Captain, Artillery.
George Sackville Cotter, Lieutenant, Artillery.
William Ward, Lieutenant, Artillery.
Francis Charles Scott, Captain, N. I.
J. B. Neeve, Captain, N. I.
J. A. R. Stevenson, Collector of Ganjam.

" T. B. S. Conway, Assistant Collector of Ganjam.
E. W. Eyre, Assistant Surgeon.
H. Walter, Major, N. I.
Thomas Sewell, Captain, N. I.
W. P. Devereux, Assistant Commissioner, Mysore.
W. W. Dunlop, Lieutenant, N. I.
T. L. Green, Captain, N. I.
H. M. Donaldson, Lieutenant, N. I.
Thomas Fair, Lieutenant, N. I.
F. Lascelles, Judge, Zillah Court, Chittoor.
J. Haig, Acting 2d Judge, Provincial Court.
T. Onslow, Register Zillah Court, Chittoor.
J. Shaw, Lieutenant, Engineers.
William Pitcairn, Lieutenant, Artillery.
D. Birch, M. D. Surgeon.
J. Walch, Captain, H. M. S.
Robert Henderson, Lieutenant, Engineers.
A. C. Anderson, Lieutenant, H. M. S.
G. M. Swinton, Assistant Collector of Cuddapah.
F. Copleston, Register Zillah Court.
W. E. Litchfield, Captain, Cavalry.
M. D. Cockburn, Civil Service.
J. R. Robertson, Captain, Cavalry.
W. T. Brett, Major, Veterans.
J. H. Bell, Lieutenant, Engineers.
J. Kerr, Head Master, Madras Grammar School.
R. F. Otter, Captain, N. I.
A. E. Blest, M. D. Surgeon.
E. Willis, Captain, N. I.
A. A. M'Cally, Lieutenant, N. I.
Robert Farquhar, Lieutenant, N. I.
H. Yarde, Captain, N. I.
Charles Lamb, Lieutenant, N. I.
Robert Woolley, Ensign, N. I.
R. A. Doria, Ensign, N. I.
William Scafe, Lieutenant, N. I.
W. C. Bell, Lieutenant, N. I.
J. Richardson, Ensign, N. I.
P. Penny, Lieutenant, N. I.
M. Joseph, Captain, N. I.
J. Hitchens, Assistant Surgeon.
Patrick Oliphant, Lieutenant, N. I.
Charles R. M'Kenzie, Lieutenant, N. I.

"William George Woods, Lieutenant, Cavalry.
H. L. Harris, Captain, N. I.
Edward Lawford, Lieutenant, Engineers
J. C. Whitty, Lieutenant, N. I.
H. Bremner, Captain, N. I.
J. B. Barnett, Captain, N. I.
H. C. Gosling, Lieutenant, N. I.
E. B. Arbuthnot, Captain, Cavalry.
Oriel Viveash, Attorney at Law."

NOTE.—It is matter of sincere thankfulness, and of gratitude to the Local Government, to be enabled to record, that since the foregoing Memorial was first submitted for signature, the attention of Government has been drawn to one of the evils pointed out, and forced labour on the Idol Cars has been prohibited.

Although the prayer of this Petition has been thus partially anticipated, it has been considered proper, nevertheless, to retain the matter in the Memorial and Appendix unaltered; both because signatures were attached to it in its present form, and in order, by a full exposition of the evils recently subsisting, to prevent the possibility of their being again sanctioned in however modified a form. The facts adduced will also, it is believed, demonstrate, that so long as our Native Officers are Heathens, *nothing short* of the rule laid down by the Honourable the Court of Directors, for *the complete* severance of the Government and its Officers from Idolatry and Mahomedanism, can afford a sufficient guarantee against a recurrence of *all* the evils of the present system; whilst the facility with which the extensive and prevalent abuse of forced labour has been at once remedied by Government will, it is hoped, remove all objections which might have arisen to an early compliance with the entire prayer of the Petition.

APPENDIX A.

COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE OF THE SERVANTS OF THE STATE AT MAHOMEDAN AND HEATHEN RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.

The following are instances of this nature: they are given, with all the other facts in the Appendix, solely as illustrations of the system pursued;—and, though but few, are sufficient to show the general character of that system.

"On the third Sunday in Lent 1834, the whole of the European Artillery at Trichinopoly were kept from Church, and employed, the greater part of that day of sacred rest, in firing a series of salutes in honour of a Mahomedan Festival.

"In the year 1828, the Head-quarters of the 15th Regiment were stationed at Trivanderam, the present capital of Travancore, and the ordinary residence of the Rajah. Within the fortress stands one of the principal temples of the province, dedicated to Padmanaba Deo (or Vishnoo). Once a year, the Idol is brought out, and carried in procession to the beach, about three miles distant, where it is bathed in the sea. It rests, of course, with the Brahmins to select the most auspicious day for the ceremony: and it has been observed, that, whenever it has been practicable, a very intelligible preference has been evinced by them for the Christian's Sabbath. It was on a *Sunday* that we were required to attend.—At two o'clock in the afternoon, the regiment, arrayed in review order, was formed in line with two battalions of Nair Troops, on one side of the road leading from the fort to the sea. There we remained, during three weary hours of idle expectation, the gazing-stock of the assembled thousands; thus learning, from our presence, to attach still deeper feelings of importance to their wretched superstitions. At intervals, groups of Brahmins passed down our front; and from these we received no doubtful intimations of the light in which they regarded us. One party approached from the Pagoda, bearing several pots of water intended for the use of the Idol and of the Ranee. The pots were of brass; and their mouths closely covered with plaintain-leaf, well secured, it might seem, against aught of external pollution. Stopping short, at some distance from us, the Brahmins waved to us imperiously, to give them room. Between our front rank and the wall by which the opposite side of the road was bounded, there was a clear breadth of more than twenty paces: but this was insufficient; we were required to close back upon the wall in our rear; and then, with a quick and stealthy step, drawing the cloths closely round them, and keeping as far from our line as the road would possibly admit, every look and gesture expressive of anxiety to escape the pollution of our vicinity, they proceeded with their precious burden. At five o'clock, the Idol was brought out, attended by the Ranee and crowds of Brahmins: as it approached, the order was given to present arms. The procession advanced; and the *troops*, filing to either side, formed a street, and *accompanied* it, amidst the din of horns and tomtoms, and all the uproar and confusion of a heathen ceremony. About midway between the fort and the beach is a small open Choultry or Pandall—a number of stone pillars supporting a flat stone roof, open on all sides, and at other times accessible to all, to man or beast, of every caste or character. The Idol was carried under this; the Nair battalions followed; but, as if it were designed to heap the fullest measure of contumely upon us, we were made to pass outside. There were Europeans, Mahomedans, and various Officers of impure tribes in our ranks — we were unclean — our footsteps carried contamination.

Arrived at the beach, we were told to go back—we were no longer wanted—the ablutions of the Idol might not be performed in our view. Tired and ashamed, we returned to our barracks.—There was then no one amongst our number who had any actual consciousness of the unholy and sinful character of the proceeding in which we had been engaged: but we felt that we had been degraded; that we had been treated throughout with undisguised contempt; and, that not only the Natives of the province, but our own men likewise, had reason to despise us for submitting to such open humiliation.

"There are, no doubt, some who will maintain, that, in all this, we were acting simply in the performance of a military duty, and in no way connected with any religious observance—that we were in attendance, not upon the Idol, but upon the Ranee; and that it was to the Ranee we presented arms. Very probably it may have been on some such pretexts that the Ranee herself requested the attendance of the British troops: but the people did not view the matter thus—our own men did not; and, may we not add, God did not view it thus! It is unhesitatingly affirmed, that the impression made, by our presence, upon the minds of the thousands assembled from all parts of the province, was, not that we were there merely in compliment to the Ranee, but that we attended as part of the public escort of the Idol, and for its especial service and honour. The same impression was left upon the minds of our own men: and so justly did the Mahomedans in the regiment appreciate the actual character of the proceeding, that, but for the countenance of their European Officers, they would probably not have consented to take part in it.* It has been said, that, on the occasion now referred to, there was

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* In proof of this statement, the following extract from the proceedings of a Court-Martial in the same regiment is annexed:—

"Proceedings of an European Court of Inquiry, assembled, by order of Major S., commanding the 15th Regiment, Native Infantry, on the 2d October 1827, to investigate a subject touching the character of Soobadar Tahir Khan, Light Company, —— Regiment.

President.........Captain W.
Members.........Captain S., Lieut. B., Lieut. C.

"Soobadar Tahir Khan is called into Court; and is informed that the Court has assembled by order of Major S., commanding the regiment, to inquire into the truth of a statement made by Soobadar Major S. M. to Major S., that he, Soobadar Tahir Khan had, on Sunday morning the 30th ultimo, in presence of many men of the corps, declared, that he would forfeit his commission rather than command the escort for the Dushura Festival, if ordered to do so.

"*First Witness*.—Soobadar Major S. M. is called into Court, and desired to state what he knows on the subject. He states as follows:—'On Sunday morning, a little after seven, as I was leaving the barrack, after airing the colours, Soobadar Tahir Khan came towards me, and asked if I had heard the news. I said, No. What

no man amongst our number with true Christian feelings. Now, however, were we ordered upon the same duty, there are several of us who must refuse to attend. It is admitted, that we should do this at the peril of our commissions. Nay more, it is admitted, not only that our refusal would subject us to dismissal from the Service, but that it might require our dismissal: for, as military men, we are sensible that the very existence of an army must be endangered, if once it be conceded to any of its members to deliberate upon the propriety of the orders they may receive. But is it not, then, unjust that such orders should be issued? Is it not cruel to place us in such circumstances? And why should a Christian Government thus needlessly reduce its Officers to the alternative, either of disobedience to their orders, or of violating the command of God."

The Nagpore force is likewise employed in doing honour annually to Idolatry, at the Hindoo Festival of the Dushura.

What news? He replied, that a guard of Mussulmans had been ordered to attend the Dushura Procession; and that I, as Soobadar Major, ought to go and represent the impropriety of it to the Commanding Officer. I answered, that, on a previous occasion, the Mussulman Native Officers, when requiring a guard of Hindoos for their own feast, had claimed it as a mutual accommodation: and if they now objected to give the Hindoos a guard, they must go and say so themselves:—that I would not; as I was ready to obey any orders, even if told to jump into the sea. Jemadar M. T. then said, addressing Tahir Khan, If you are ordered to go, what will you do? Tahir Khan replied, I will rather give up my commission, and leave the service, than go.'—He subsequently added, that the result of the order would be fighting amongst the men.

"*By the Court.*—Was there any thing unusual, in ordering a Mussulman escort to the Dushura Festival?

"*Answer.*—Yes; a Mussulman guard has never attended a Dushura.

"*Second Witness.*—Jemadar M. T. is called into Court.

"*By the Court.*—Did you on Sunday morning, addressing Tahir Khan, say, 'If you are ordered to go with the Dushura guard, what will you do'?

"*Answer.*—I heard Tahir Khan say, that he would willingly attend the Dushura, as on duty, to keep the peace and prevent disturbances, but not as forming part of the procession to escort an Idol. I asked him what he would do, then, if ordered to go. He replied, That he would rather give up his commission, and quit the service, than go.

"*By the Court.*—Did you hear Tahir Khan say, that the consequence of the order would be fighting amongst the men?

"*Answer.*—I heard him say to the Soobadar Major, 'There are many drunken, debauched fellows among the men; and if the Mussulmans go with the Hindoos, they will most likely kick up a row, and there will be disturbance and fighting: you therefore, as Soobadar Major, ought to go and represent this to the Adjutant.'

"*Third Witness.*—Jemadar S. I. is called into Court.

"*By the Court.*—Did you, on Sunday morning last, hear Soobadar Tahir Khan say,

"Between 5 and 6 o'clock P.M., on the last day of that festival, the British force, as detailed in the margin (having been marched from Kamptee to Nagpoor, a distance of ten miles, on the morning of the same day), is assembled on a plain in the neighbourhood of the city, where the Rajah annually performs the concluding ceremonies of this feast. His Highness comes in great state, attended by his Court; and, on arrival on the ground, is received by the British line with military honours. He then takes his seat on a cloth spread in front of a tree; to which the Rajah, with attendant Brahmins &c., performs poojah (worship): at the conclusion of which, there is a scramble for the leaves of this sacred tree. A signal is then given, and the whole British line unites with the Rajah's troops in a general discharge of guns and musketry.—Thus do Christians, in the most direct manner, aid in the idolatrous rites and ceremonies of Hindooism!"

Europeans.
1 Troop Horse Artillery,
2 Companies,
1 Regiment Infantry.
Natives.
1 Regiment Cavalry,
3 „ Infantry.

In the following instance it will be observed, that liberty of conscience was deliberately refused by the Government to persons professing Christianity.

"In September 1835, the drummers of *a native regiment* (19th), being required to attend at the Procession of the Dushura, refused; stating, that, *as Christians*, they could not take part in a heathen ceremony.

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say, that if he was ordered to go with the escort for the Dushura, he would rather lose his commission, and give up the service, than go?

"*Answer.*—I heard him say, that he would go on any kind of duty on which he might be ordered; but that as for going to fire before an Idol, he would rather forfeit his commission.

"*By the Court.*—Did you hear him say, that the result of the order would be fighting amongst the men?

"*Answer.*—I heard him say, 'This is entirely a new custom, and will be productive of disagreeable consequences.'

"*By the Court.*—Were many men of the corps present when this conversation took place?

"*Answer.*—Upwards of fifty, of all ranks.

"The Court do not deem it necessary to call any other witnesses.

"Soobadar Tahir Khan is desired to state what he has to say.

"He does not wish to call any one; but says, that he conceived his religion to be interfered with; and accordingly represented this to the Soobadar Major, that it might be laid before the Commanding Officer.

"(Signed) H. W. *Captain and President.*"

N.B. The order was countermanded; and one issued, establishing, as a standing regulation of the regiment, that each caste should thenceforth make their own arrangements to furnish escorts for themselves.

They were in consequence placed in confinement, while the circumstance was reported to higher authority. The subject was referred to Government, probably under some impression, that, according to recent proceedings, it might be the intention of our Rulers that liberty of conscience should now be extended to Christians, as it had been to Mahomedans and Heathens. The result was, that the drummers were declared to have been guilty of a breach of discipline, for which they were ordered to be discharged from the Service; and the attendance of Christian drummers of regiments at native heathen festivals was pronounced to be unobjectionable, the indulgence having the sanction of long custom. The men were subsequently pardoned; but only on their expressing deep contrition, and promising never to repeat the like offence. It appearing that the drummers were instigated to this proceeding by a Roman-Catholic Priest, with whose congregation they were connected, it was intimated to him, from the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that on the occurrence of any similar interference with the discipline of the troops he would be interdicted from residing within any military station under the Madras Government.—It may be true, that these drummers were influenced not so much by the conviction of their own consciences, as by the prohibition of their priest: this, however, does not in the slightest degree affect the question at issue; which depends simply upon this, whether the toleration granted to both Mahomedan and Heathen is to be denied to the Christian under the British Government of India."*

The following notice, recently published, of similar violations of liberty of conscience, will tend further to show the evils of the present system, and the view taken of it by different classes of persons.

(*From the Standard Madras Newspaper of February*, 1836.)

" THE RAMZAN AT TRICHINOPOLY.

" *To the Editor of the Standard.*

" SIR—Passing through Trichinopoly about the end of the Ramzan, I was rather surprised to see a party of the Honourable and Right Worshipful Company's European Artillery trudging about the streets *in the middle of the day*, in company with a crowd of Mahomedans.

" On inquiry, I was informed that they were in attendance on the Great Moollah; who was on his way to the *Eedgah*, to perform his devotions:

* This injustice is removed, by late Orders, so far as respects Drummers and Fifers from the dépôt at Wallajabad. What is desired, is, to see the principle recognised in those Orders universally enforced.

that they had been out since five o'clock in the morning; and that they must follow his reverence's slippers till three o'clock.

" Thus, before they could reach their barracks, they must have performed four journeys backwards and forwards to the fort, each trip being about a mile and a quarter in distance.

" At this ceremony, in which the European Gunners bear so noisy and so conspicuous a part*, prayers are made, the *khoothbah* is read, and the styles of the Nuwab are proclaimed. I presume it is in his honour the salutes are fired, though each Mahomedan takes them as a compliment to himself. I do not quarrel with them for this, but I take up the point on the grounds of common humanity. I will therefore confine myself to the great want of feeling displayed in thus *needlessly* exposing British soldiers to the scorching beams of a meridian sun.

" This act of undignified acquiescence, on the part of the tender-conscienced Members of Government, will go very little to secure the affections of the Mahomedans; while it shows on what trifling occasions the lives of British soldiers may be shamefully sacrificed. It shows how little is thought of the enormous expense of bringing out their recruits—of the economy of the State: and while it betrays a sad recklessness of public opinion, is a positive degradation of the national character.

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" The poor sufferers themselves, however averse to the unpleasant duty, dare not complain * * * * * and they submit to this, and other similar modest enforcements of *discipline*, probably without a murmur.

" I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

" VIATOR.

" P. S. Non semper viator a latrone occiditur.

" *Neelgherries*, 11*th* ——."

(*Extracts from Garrison Orders.*)

" GARRISON ORDERS, FORT ST. GEORGE.

" 10*th January* 1836.

" A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery, at noon tomorrow, on the occasion of the Pungal Festival." †

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* See the facts in this Letter verified by the Garrison Orders, Trichinopoly, of 19th January 1836. Vide postea, p. 76.

† The Pungal is one of the sacred festivals observed throughout the Southern portion of the Peninsula of India. It is in honour of the sun; and solemnized at the commencement of the principal harvest of the country, when offerings are made to that deity. On this occasion, new implements of husbandry, new clothes, the cattle, &c. are blessed. It is peculiar to the Soodra and lower classes, and the most popular festival of the country.

"21*st January* 1836.

"A Royal Salute to be fired from the Saluting Battery, at noon to-day, on the occasion of the Ramzan Festival."*

"GARRISON ORDERS, TRICHINOPOLY.

"19*th January* 1836.

"To-morrow, being the conclusion of the Ramzan Festival, a company complete, under the command of a Native Officer in full dress, with one drummer and one fifer from the 46th Regiment, N. I., as well as a brigade of six-pounders with the requisite party of artillery attached, to parade to-morrow morning, at six o'clock, at the *Chouk* (*Square*) in the Fort.

"A Royal Salute to be fired at the *Chouk*; another at the *Eedgah* (sacred edifice where festivals are celebrated); and the third, on the return of the procession to the Fort."

[N. B. The artillery alluded to, are Europeans; and they were employed on this duty from 5 A.M. to 3 P.M., exposed to a burning sun; and were required to accompany, and therefore to form part of this Mahomedan procession to the Eedgah and back.]

APPENDIX B.

OFFERINGS TO IDOLS.

The annexed Extracts, from documents on the Records of Government, afford an instance of this nature, carried on at Madras, under the immediate eye and by the express direction of the Governor in Council.

Extract from the Official Record, made by the Officer of Government, of the offerings to, and the ceremony of the procession of, the Idol Padazier at Madras, re-established in 1818, under the Orders of the Government.

"And then the Padazier (the Idol) was removed out of her room, to the outer verandah; where flower-garlands were presented to each of the three following persons.

"1st, To the Governor; that is, to any person belonging to the Government, &c.

* No one of their institutions is considered by the Mahomedans of greater importance than the Fast of the Ramzan. Its origin may be best stated in the words of the Korân—"The month of Ramzan shall ye fast, on which the Korân was sent down from heaven."—The conclusion, on the last day, is the most sacred: it is on this day the *kootkbah* (or exhortation) is read.

"And after the necessary ceremonies were performed there, the procession moved, and stood near the north gate of Fort (St. George); when the Collector of Madras (*the European Officer of Government*) sent a gold botto, called 'talee' * (a necklace), and a piece of red silk cloth, called 'cooray,' with doopa deepum (incense), which were given to the goddess: and at the same time the Collector presented a red scarlet cloth to the Oochen (attendant priest), and seventeen rupees and eight annas to the bearers of the conveyance; and the baure &c. (the running to and fro with the offering to the Idol) was conducted."

Annexed is the Order of Government, authorising the expenditure from the Public Treasury for this Idolatrous Ceremony, with the correspondence to which it has reference.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, dated 11*th Nov.* 1828.

"Read the following Letter from the Superintendant of Police, dated 18th February 1828:—

"*To the Secretary to Government in the Public Department.*

"SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter, No. 91, under date the 25th ultimo, referring for my report a petition from Cundapah Chitty, No. 47 of 1828, &c. &c. If this be not his object, I am at a loss to conjecture what he can have had in view; for he must be well aware, that the subscription ought to have been paid; and, as the time when the feast takes place is well known, he ought to have provided, during his absence, for the collection being made; the celebration of the feast being dependent upon the amount of collection. He must also be aware, that, except under a decision of his caste, he cannot be removed from his inherited rights. The successful celebration of this annual feast was first effected in 1820: and having been conducted under my immediate superintendence, I am prepared to state, that much difficulty is always experienced in making the established collection: and it was my intention to have solicited Government to sanction, as a public charge, the requisite disbursements on this account, which, on an average, does not amount to more than rupees 350. And I take this opportunity to submit, with reference to former correspondence, that as the expenses of this feast are to be collected from various classes of people, both delays and difficulties occur, which frequently render it doubtful whether the feast can be carried on: and as the great mass of

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* The Talee is the emblem of union and of the marriage-tie. The Idol was the so-called *Goddess* of Madras; and hence a gift of a "talee" or marriage necklace is indicative of the closest union. A more direct act of worship could not well be performed.

inhabitants attach much importance to it, they would receive with gratitude the assurance that Government would sanction the necessary disbursements.

"If the measure should meet with the approval of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, I would beg leave to recommend, that the Collector of Madras should be authorised, in communication with this Department, to direct the supply of the articles and attendants required for the feast, according to the scale hitherto observed.

"Conversant as I am with the details of this feast, and the fatigue attending it, I discharge a most satisfactory duty—for such I consider it—in assuring the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, that I am well satisfied Mr. E——'s proceedings were directed by an anxious wish to adhere to the established customs, and to enforce a strict observance of the principles on which the feast should be conducted: with this view, the petitioner was noticed as one of those head men, who failed in a most essential duty; and, from my knowledge of the native customs, I state with confidence, that neither his character nor rights have been prejudiced by the proclamation in question.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient Servant,
"(Signed) ********
"*Madras Police Office*, 18*th Feb.* 1828. "*Supt. of Police.*"

ORDERS OF GOVERNMENT THEREON.

"*Council Board*, 11*th Nov.* 1828.

"The Right Honourable the Governor in Council, adverting to the smallness of the sum which is annually required for the celebration of the Feast of the Madras Goddess, and to the difficulty which has always been experienced in making the established collections, is pleased to authorise the Collector of Madras, in communication with the Superintendant of Police, to cause the supply* of the articles and attendants necessary for a due celebration of the festival, according to the scale which has hitherto been observed; and to release the native inhabitants of Madras from the charge. It will be the special duty of the Superintendant of Police to give general information of the considerate intentions of the Government, and to prevent individuals being improperly called upon for their subscriptions."

The above Orders were sent, by the Secretary, to the Superintendant of Police.

* The following is a part of the official correspondence, showing the continued effect given by the Government to this festival after its suspension for thirty years.

"To

OFFERINGS are also annually made, in the name and on behalf of the Government, to Idols at Conjeveram, in the vicinity of Madras, a celebrated place of Hindoo Worship. These offerings are usually presented by the Christian European Officers *in person:* and the

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"*To the Secretary to Government in the Public Department.*

"SIR—Par. 1. With reference to the concluding paragraph of my Letter, under date the 27th December 1820, I have now the honour to state, that it was my intention to have submitted a further report on the proceedings during the performance of the feast of the town Goddess, at an earlier period: but in the attempt to compress, and to bring succinctly under view, the progressive operations of the feast, the whole of which was insisted upon with scrupulous exactness on both sides, much time has elapsed; and as the detailed proceedings, during a period of thirty-six days, cannot be rendered in a concise manner, I beg to report, that a record thereof has been compiled for future reference, should it be necessary to examine into the rights of either party, during the performance of the feast hereafter, or for any other purpose.

"2. It is, I believe, known to Government, that the feast had been suspended for upwards of thirty years previous to the year 1818, when an attempt was made to perform it under the influence of the late Mr. Collector E——, and the general protection of the police; but it was not brought to a successful conclusion, as differences arose, which could not at the time be adjusted.

"3. In the late proceedings, all material points have become known and been acted upon; and there should not be an obstacle to the future performance of it."

Par. 4, 5, 6, and 7, relate to the right of the Pariahs to a spot of ground long occupied as a bazaar for the performance of their religious rites.

"8. In the course of the proceedings, it was necessary that the procession of the Goddess should be carried under the Pully-street gate of the Black Town; but, from the lowness of the arch, the Goddess could not be conveyed in the usual manner, upon the shoulders of men; and in carrying it through, the ornaments, &c. were much injured. I refer to this, for the purpose of stating, that if it shall, as I trust it will, be practicable to carry on this feast, the native inhabitants would consider it as a distinguishing mark of the favour of Government if measures were adopted to raise the arch over this gateway: the expense, it is imagined, would not be great; and the mere execution of the work would convey to the Natives a full proof of the disposition of Government to facilitate the due observance of their religious ceremonies.

"I have the honour to be &c.

"(Signed) ********

"*Madras Police Office*, 21*st June* 1821. "*Supt. of Police.*"

"PUBLIC DEPARTMENT. No. 602.

"*To the Superintendant of Police.*

"SIR—Par. 1. I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 21st ultimo; and to express the satisfaction of the Governor In Council, that the feast

following account, furnished by a Native Officer in charge of the Conjeveram District, literally translated, will afford a full insight into their nature and character. It will be observed, from this statement, that no similar honour was paid to Idolatry under the rule of our Mahomedan predecessors, not even when the jaghire (in which Conjeveram is situated) was only nominally held by the Nabob, and its affairs administered by the Company's servants; and that this intrusion into the religious rites of the people did not take place till the country was assumed in full sovereignty by the British Government: and is, consequently, an innovation of comparatively recent date. The statement of the Native Officer is of importance, also, as showing the light in which the interference of Government is viewed by the native mind.

Translation of the Statement.

"In the course of the Brahma-utsavam (worship or festival) annually celebrated in Chitra (May and June), the Garudautsavam is performed at six o'clock in the morning of the third day's festival: the worshipping of which, at the gate of the tower, is considered to be of great importance and sanctity.

"The aforesaid *Garudautsavam* (festival) in the time of Mr. Dighton, the predecessor of Mr. Place, was performed by Shiddalore Vencataroyer and Candungi Streenevassaragavachari (names of Brahmans), during their respective churchwardenships; and afterwards, from the time of Mr. Place, the Pagoda is assumed by the Government (British), *and the worship is performed by the Honourable Company.*

"When Mr. Place was Collector of the jaghire, he, with a view to increase the prosperity of the Honourable Company, and with their

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feast of the Madras Goddess was celebrated without tumult, and that the people were pleased with it. The Governor in Council approves of your having preserved a record of all that passed on the occasion, for eventual reference at any period.

"2. The Collector of Madras will be desired to communicate with you relative to the best means of restoring the piece of ground, to which you allude, to the Pariahs, as the Governor in Council will be happy if justice can be done, and satisfaction afforded to all parties concerned.

"3. A reference will be made to the Acting Chief Engineer, for the purpose of ascertaining at what expense the gate of the Pully Street, in Black Town, could be raised with the view stated in your Letter; and whether the measure be considered liable to any objection.

"I am Sir, your most obedient servant,

"(Signed) *******

Fort St. George, 10th July, 1821. "Sec. to Government."

consent, continued to perform the feast alluded to. In like manner, Government very liberally still performs it on the third day of the festival, incurring an expense of 300 pagodas from their Public Treasury: consequently, they continued to conquer the country day by day.

"In the year *Tarana* (1824), Kistnaraja Woodiar, the present Rajah of Mysoor, requested Government to allow him to perform the above feast; which was accordingly conceded to him; and he performed it in that year. But in the next year, Government, unwilling to let the offerings be made by the Rajah, performed it as usual, by taking it back from him."

N.B.—Here we see an Idolater requesting permission to take the place of the Government. There can be no question, therefore, as to the character in which the Government proceedings are viewed by the Natives.

"In the celebration of *Garudautsavam*, and in that of the remaining nine days of the festival, the *Talegayo*, and every offering to the God, appears to have been made from the fixed allowance granted by the Company, and not by the Collectors separately. Mr. Place has presented to the God, jewels, and a head-ornament called *Caleka Tooray*, worth Star Pagodas 1000. Lord Clive, on the occasion of his personal visit to the *Garudautsavam*, presented a *Makaracunty*, or breast-ornament, worth Pagodas 1050; and Mr. Collector Garrow, in like manner, presented a *Chandraharam*, or golden necklace, worth Pagodas 500, when he attended the said feast: moreover, on the day of the aforesaid feast, the Collectors continue to present every year one lace garment worth about Rupees 100 to the God, when he is halted at *Gangoonramantapum*.

"At the time of the Collectorate of Mr. Place, it seems that he sent for all the musicians, dancing-girls, and the instruments, elephants and horses, &c. attached to the different *Davastanums* (temples) within the jaghire, in order to perform the festival with great pomp, by giving his personal attendance. He also continued to distribute cloths to the dancing-girls; and several offerings suitable to the condition of the Sthalattar Brahmans, who recite the Vedas. Now, small presents and offerings are distributed by Government to the above Brahmans and dancing-girls, &c., during the performance of the feast alluded to."

OFFERINGS FOR RAIN.

Offerings to Idols, for the purpose of procuring *rain*, are also made under the express orders of the Public Officer; and provided for at the expense of the Government, in all seasons of drought. The

nature of this offering and service, termed Varuna Japam (or Prayer to the Hindoo Deity of the Waters), is as follows:—

"1. Four religious Brahmans will utter several mantrams (incantations) to *Verana Devatta*, Rudra Devattah, and Parjuny Devatta, for ten or twenty days, standing in the water: after which, they will place on the ground a *calasem*, or a pot containing holy water, and implore the said deities to come and enter the said pot. This being done, Rudra will be washed by the water which this pot contained.

"2. Particulars of Rudra Japam (Prayers to Rudra).

"Eleven Brahmans should continually pray eleven times a day to Rudra, for ten or twenty days, after placing a calasem or pot, and uttering various other mantrams relative to all the limbs of the deity; and then wash the image of the deity with that sacred water in the pot.

"3. Particulars of Navagrahajapam (Prayers to Nine Planets).

"Four Brahmans make use of several mantrams, to nine planets, in consideration that some of them would prevent the falling of rain. The *Veerunt Purum*, in the Maha Bharata, should be read in support of the above Japams (prayers or invocations) for the fall of rain.

"Seven Brahmans should make use of Vayasthati or hymns in praise of Hanuman (the Monkey God) in the Pagoda. Each Brahman should utter the *sthuti*, twenty-one times a day, and then wash Hanuman with the holy water. The above-mentioned Brahmans should live upon milk and rice, without salt, during the intervals of japams and mantrams, &c. &c. Servants for cooking rice, &c. are required; and they are to be paid for from the Government Treasury, as well as daily expense for the food of the above-mentioned Brahmans.

"A general *Summarādāna*, or feeding of a great number of Brahmans, is necessarily required."

Annexed, is a Copy of an Order issued on such occasions.

Translation of an Order issued to the Tahsildars by the Collector of Canara, in 1833, directing special Ceremonies for Rain, to be performed in certain pagodas of that district:—

"1. Urzees (communications) have been received from the Tahsildars (Chief Revenue servants) of some Talooks (districts), stating, that, from deficiency of rain, the cultivation is hindered; and requesting permission to perform *Purjunyum* (*i.e.* ceremonies in the pagodas for rain). Upon looking at the Rain reports, it appears that it is so. It is, therefore, ordered for the protection of the ryots, that they must go to the pagodas of their villages with cocoa-nuts, cocoa-nut water, &c., and with Poojah (worship to the Idol) must offer up their prayers. In the pagodas, for the maintenance of which there is an allowance from

Government, you must order the officiating priest to perform poojah properly, with prayers.

2. If the ryots and respectable people say that *purjunyum* (ceremonies for rain) is required; if it appear to you that the distress is really true; and if it appears necessary that *purjunyum* should be performed, you are to take ten Pagodas (Rupees 35) from the amount of collections, and give them to the Kudre Devanath Devasthan; and having performed *purjunyum* properly, you are to report to me the coming of rain. You will deduct the above ten pagodas, in the monthly account of the talook receipts and disbursements *."

OFFERINGS TO THE GOD OF WISDOM.

In like manner, OFFERINGS are made, by public authority, at her annual feast, to the Hindoo Goddess *Saraswati* (the Minerva of Pagan Greece and Rome), when all classes of Hindoos bow down to her; employing, as her representatives or symbols, the several implements with which each gains his subsistence. The carpenter places his plane, saw, and chisel before him, and offers divine honours to them: the tailor, in like manner, worships his needle; the soldier his sword and belt; the schoolmaster his books, &c. &c.; and *the Honourable Company's account-books, stationery, records, and furniture, are worshipped in like manner, year by year.* At the Court of the Judge, and the cutcherry (office) of the Collector, this is regularly done; and the following is the Programme of the ceremony:—

"All the Dufters (bundles) containing accounts, &c. to be placed in the cutcherry, in a row: and in the evening, at about four o'clock, the religious Brahmans of the town, together with the cutcherry servants, will assemble to worship them in honour of the goddess Minerva: in the interim, music will be sounded, and the dance of the church-dance will then be commenced. After this is done, cocoa-nuts, plantains and betel, &c., will be distributed among the religious Brahmans, and the cutcherry servants, and a few gifts in specie, will also be given to the former people."

It is proper to observe, that these "gifts in specie," together with the music, and requisite quantity of fruit, are provided at the expense of the Government, and form a regular item of the public expenditure.

* Under the above order is inserted the names of the different pagodas in which *purjunyum* was to be performed, and the amount to be disbursed in each. The total amount is 90 Behaudry Pagodas, or 360 rupees.

In several districts, similar worship is paid to another Hindoo deity, Ganesa or Ganapati, the God of Wisdom, both in the Courts of Justice, and at the office of the Collector of Revenue. The subjoined documents explain the nature of the ceremonies.

" HONOURED SIR—I humbly and submissively beg leave to acquaint your honour, that on the 29th of this month, Wednesday, being Venayaka Chouty or Belly-God feast, it is custom to allow at Rupees 10 every year from Circar (Government), in order to perform certain poojah, *after keeping one Idol in the Court House* on the same day, and granting leave to all the Court servants for the said poojah (worship), the said sum is to be carried into contingent charges. I saw the Civil Diary, and other accounts too, and find the same in them: therefore I highly request your Honour will be pleased to spare 10 Rupees, and perform the said poojah on the very day. I must purchase various things for the same.

" * * * * * *

" *Sheristadar (Chief Native Officer of the Court.)*"

The following is a description of the idolatrous ceremonies in honour of Ganesa, performed annually in the cutcherry (office) of the Principal Collector of Canara, on the occasion of the feast called Vinayaka Chaturthi; with a statement of the expenses, annually submitted, and sanctioned by Government.

N.B. Idolatrous ceremonies are also performed on the same occasion, in the offices of all the Tahsildars (Chief Native Revenue Officers).

GANESA FEAST.

About one month before the approach of this festival, which is celebrated in honour of the Idol Ganesa, a throne is prepared, at the office of the Principal Collector, for its reception; which is beautified with variegated works of paper, wax, tinsel, &c.; and the expenses attending the whole work amounts to Rupees 27.

On the day of the festival, at about 3 P.M., some of the cutcherry peons, accompanied by country musicians, bring the Idol Ganesa from the place of purchase to the cutcherry, in a native palankeen; and place it on the prepared throne, keeping lighted lamps on both sides. The Idol is made of clay, and painted red. Shortly after, the Brahman administering the ceremonies of poojah (worship) attends at the cutcherry, as also the Hindoo servants. The Brahman Bhutt then proceeds to make the poojah; which he begins by adorning the Idol with flowers, rubbing sandal-wood powder into it, and keeping broken cocoa-nuts, ripe plantains, with some other

eatable articles, in front of the Idol; and concludes the ceremony by moving around it a vessel containing lighted camphire, several times. During the time he performs those acts, he repeats his mantrams (prayers), and the musicians play on their band outside. After the poojah is over, the Bhutt retires; and presents the Government servants in attendance, observing the order of their rank, with prassada (articles offered unto the Idol), which consists of flowers and mass of sandal-wood.

Betel-leaves are also distributed. It is also usual to distribute alms, on this day, amongst mendicant Brahmans' Bhutts, who assemble for the purpose, and to make a nautch of Dancing-girls. The expenses attending these transactions are as follows:—

	Rs.	qrs.	reas.			
Purchase price of the Idol	1	0	0			
Payment to the Bhutt administering poojah,	2	1	1			
Alms to Mendicant Brahmans	6	0	0			
Musicians	1	2	0			
Hammals hire for conveying the palankeen in which the Idol is brought	0	1	92			
				11	0	92
Articles required for the Poojah; viz.						
Flowers	0	0	92			
Plantains	0	0	32			
Cocoa-nut	0	1	98			
Beaten rice	0	1	12			
Jaggery	0	0	96			
Camphire	0	0	40			
Benzoin	0	0	16			
Betel-leaves	0	0	60			
Ditto nuts	0	2	28			
Sugar-canes	0	1	0			
Green cocoa-nuts	0	0	80			
Bengal gram	0	0	20			
Lavancha	0	0	16			
Ood buttee	0	0	16			
Limes	0	0	16			
Sugar-candy	0	0	72			
Lamp-oil	0	0	28			
Cooly hire for conveying the above	0	0	12			

During the remaining period the Idol is kept in the office, the Bhutt performs his poojah every evening, and distributes the prassada, as stated above, amongst the other Brahmans.

Last year the Idol was kept up for six subsequent days; and the expenses attending the poojah amounted, at 24 reas per day, to 0.1.44.

One day previously to the removal of Ganesa, another grand poojah is performed in the night-time, after the manner observed on the first day; and a dance is also made. The Gentleman in charge of the office is invited on the occasion; and by him other Gentlemen are also invited. Besides the articles required for the performance of poojah, sweetmeats, fruits, &c., are purchased, to be laid on the table. The expenses on this day are as follows:—

	Rs.	qrs.	reas.
1 Bottle of rose-water	2	0	0
2 pints of lavender-water	3	1	0
Candlesticks	0	1	75
Wicks for lamps	0	1	0
Sweetmeats	2	0	0
Flowers	2	2	0
Sugar-candy	0	1	44
Fruits	0	2	32
Spices	0	2	8
Betel-leaves, and nuts	2	0	16
Ood buttee	0	0	48
Red water for lamps	0	0	24
Cooly hire	0	1	16
Dancing-girls	6	0	0
	20	1	63

The next day after a common poojah, the Ganesa is taken out of the throne at the evening, and, being put on a native palankeen, is taken to the river, to be thrown into it. A few peons of the cutcherry and musicians, with lighted torches, accompany it; and on their arrival at the bank of the river, they proceed by boat into it, and throw the Idol into the water, with loud acclamation of the word "Govinda," several times.

Description of the Dufter Poojah, as performed annually, at the Government expense, during the Dushura Feast, in the cutcherry of the principal Collector of Canara; on which occasion the Records are deified, and poojah (worship) made to them.

Similar ceremonies are performed in all the Tahsildars' cutcherries.

Dushura Festival.

On the day of this festival, poojah is performed to the Dufters (Records in the office). The whole Records are placed in the

Record room, over the presses, which are adorned by hanging strings of green leaves intermixed with flowers around each row of books. The Hindoo servants assemble at the cutcherry on that day, about 3 P.M., and get the poojah performed by their Bhutt (officiating Brahman), who comes for the purpose. He at first rubs sandal-wood over the Records; and after preparing the necessary articles, viz. cocoa-nuts, plantains, betel-leaves, &c., keeps them in front of the Records, and concludes his ceremony by moving a vessel containing lighted camphire around the Records, several times. During these ceremonies, the Bhutt repeats his prayers, and the musicians play on their band. The Bhutt then distributes flowers and sandal-wood mass amongst the Brahmans, and afterwards betel-leaves are also offered. Some money is expended in gifts to the peons of the cutcherry, and alms to poor Brahmans.

The expenses are as follows:	Rs.	qrs.	reas.			
6 Cocoa-nuts	0	0	60			
Camphire	0	0	24			
Beaten rice	0	0	48			
Plantains	0	0	16			
Betel-leaves and nuts	0	1	48			
Flowers	0	1	20			
Limes	0	0	16			
Jaggery	0	0	48			
Ood buttee	0	0	8			
Cooly hire for conveying the above articles,	0	0	8			
Mendicant Brahmans	0	3	20			
Cooly hire for tying leaves &c. around the cutcherry	0	0	24			
Brahman Bhutt, for administering poojah,	1	0	0			
Musicians	0	2	0			
				3	2	40
The poojah is continued for four subsequent days successively, and the expenses attending it amount to				0	1	4
Expended by servants who were absent on circuit, to make the necessary poojah to their Dufters				1	2	0
Enams or presents to the peons *.						

The facts adduced in Appendix A. show the homage now required to be paid to Idolatry by the Military branch of the Service; and will suffice, with those entered above, to prove, that the Officers in both the Civil and Military Departments have equal cause to

* In order that due honour may be paid to the Dushura Festival, the enams (presents) are given, not only to the Hindoo, but also to the *Mussulman* and *Christian* peons.

complain of the existing system, under which they are required to participate in, or sanction, acts of the grossest idolatry and superstition.

APPENDIX C.

INSTANCES EXEMPLIFYING THE CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF IDOLATRY, IN THE MANAGEMENT OF PAGODAS, UNDER REGULATION VII. OF 1817.

The following literal translations of the ordinary addresses sent in for the Orders of the European Officers of the Government, are given, in order to exhibit, more fully than any statement could do, the nature and extent of the official interference now exercised in the religious services of the people by the Christian Functionaries of Government. And it must be borne in mind, that this is a part of their duty which they cannot avoid, however opposed to their conscientious sentiments as Christians. Those from the district of Coimbatoor, addressed to the Acting Principal Collector in 1832, seem about the average number received in eight or ten days, in a district where the duty is not heavy.

The provision and appointment of the servants of the Idol rest with the Officer of Government.

To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar (Native Revenue and Police Officer) of Dharaporam. No. 44.

"At [illegible] Veera-Ragava-Swami's Pagoda, the cook, named Narayana [illegible], was sick, and died on the 2d of Anni (June); and his wife, named Mahalakshmi, begs that her son Vencata-Ramana, aged [illegible] years, may have the situation; and states, that her brother [illegible], aged twenty-eight years, will perform the duties till he is of age to do it himself.

"Thus the Pagoda Manigar (Superintendant) comes and reports at [illegible], and I forward this statement, and request orders concerning it."

To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of [illegible]. No. 7.

At the [illegible] (Pagoda) of Siva-Mali, the Piper, named Kuru-[illegible], being dead, orders were sent, on the 14th of the present month, to appoint his son, named [illegible], aged eight years; and to allow Moot-[illegible] to be his Gomastah (substitute), and perform his duty till he [illegible]. According to the rules for service by proxy, I have appointed the said [illegible] to be a piper, instead of the son of the [illegible], taking security, which I herewith enclose for orders.

" *To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Dharaporam.*

" In the Pagoda of Siva-Mali Sippandy, the Superintendant Mada Naiker died on the 29th Audi: the Manigar, and the son of the deceased, having sent Chinna Mada Naiker, also a son of the said deceased, to the office, and he being fit to perform the duties of the office, I have placed him in the situation, agreeably to the rules for service by proxy."

" *To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Kangyam.*

" In the Pagoda of Kalyana-Ramaswami, the pay which Vencatesalayer, the dancing-master (Nathan), and Ramaswami Iyer, the (Idol's) cook, ought to receive for sacred duties, is appropriated by Nanjen, the sweeper at Uttiray-Ragavaswami Pagoda; and they have sent in a petition, complaining that there is no one for sacred duties, which are therefore negligently performed. On my inquiry, why Nanjen should receive the pay designed for the person to be appointed according to order from the cutcherry, it appears that the wife of the said Manigar is entered as doing the business of sweeper at Kalyana-Swami Pagoda, who does not, however, attend to it: but Nanjen himself looks after both pagodas; and there being thus but one person for the two pagodas, when he is at Uttiray Veera Ragava Swami's Pagoda, the holy business is neglected at the other. The Manigar begs that another sweeper may be appointed to the said Kalyana-Ramaswami's Pagoda; for though the woman is there, she does not attend to the business properly."

APPOINTMENT OF THE PROSTITUTES OF THE TEMPLE BY THE OFFICERS OF GOVERNMENT.

" *To the Acting Principal Collector at Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Palachy.*

" At the Pagoda of Kolandai, Perial, employed as a dancing-girl, died; and on the 7th of last September I sent to Hoozoor (the Collector) for permission to appoint her daughter as a dancing-girl. Having now appointed her, I send her to the Presence (Collector); and wait for the Collector's orders, as to taking the customary securities, &c. from her."

" *To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Kangyam.*

" In the Devastanum of Agarama-Iswaraswami, Agalandy the dancing-

girl having become old, an order from the Presence (the Collector), No. 199, was sent on Feb. 16th, that Sheema-giva, the grand-daughter of the above, should take her place. I have kept her as a dancing-girl; and have commanded the Manigar (Overseer) to see that the Devastanum (Pagoda) service is performed by her. The security and sunnud of office, taken according to rule, I here enclose."

THE FURNISHING OF SUPPLIES FOR IDOL WORSHIP.

" *To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Kangyam.*

"The Talouk Manigar of the pagoda states, that for the sanctuary (Sannitha) of these four gods, viz. Kalyana Ramaswami, Uttiray Veera Ragava Swami, Agasteesara Swami, and Kadu Anunda-Raga Swami, both for the fixed Idol and the festival Idol, the Government some time ago bought and gave cloths; and they report, that these cloths are now very old and rotten, and must be renewed. Having seen them, and made inquiry, I find it is not the rule to give the cloths &c. for the above holy places every year; but when cloths &c. are necessary, the Government have been in the habit of giving them, and I know that they are all old: I have therefore made a statement, amounting to Rupees 50, for buying and giving cloths to the said gods; and now enclose the said statement in this address, and send it to the Presence, waiting for orders."

" *To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Kangyam.*

"At the Cusba Pagoda, the Car Feast of Sri-Paraswava Vencata Ramaswami must be celebrated on the 20th of the present month, for which Rupees 63.9, are wanted, according to the establishment rules; and bars for the car, and two palmyra-trees;—for thus reports the Devastanum Pagoda Manigar. I therefore request that, according to custom, orders may be issued for the payment of Rupees 63.9, from the Public Treasury, and for granting the two palmyra-trees."

" *To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Caroor.*

"At Tandoni Pagoda, the Car Feast of Vencata-Ramana Swami must take place on the 10th of next Prâtasi. Besides the usual allowance of money from the Treasury, four palmyra-trees are required, to make new bars and props for the car; and, as there are none fit for the purpose

in this Division, I beg that the Tahsildar of the next may be ordered to cut down four trees in the village of Chinna-Maroodar.—Awaiting orders."

" *To the Collector of Trichinopoly, &c. &c. &c.*

" The respectful Representation of Sreerunga Narayana Ieeyer Sthalattar (Pagoda Manager) of Sreerragam Covil.

" Sheweth,

" That the Chittra Feast of Sreerunganauthaswami was celebrated with the greatest magnificence; and the great car was this morning drawn round the street, and arrived at its post by 9 o'clock A.M. Every mouth of the people, who arrived from every quarter, is filled with prayers for your long life and prosperity.

" There are four grand feasts annually celebrated for Sreerunganauthaswami, successively in Tye (January), Mausey (February), Pungooney (March), and Chittra (April) months; and the Swami (Idol) is daily, both morning and evening, conveyed out around the street, on heavy and bulky conveyances, viz. elephant, lion, swan, horse, &c. &c., made of metal, and for which several large and strong bamboos are required. During the Collectorship of Mr. Wallace, that gentleman has written to the Collectors of Hilly Province, and sent for some bamboos; which, owing to the long duration, are totally worn out, and rendered unserviceable: two of them were yesterday morning, while the Swami (Idol) was carried in procession on a supperum of large size, broke in half: consequently, unless some new ones are procured for that purpose, the next feast, in the ensuing Tye month, cannot be performed. I therefore humbly pray your Honour be pleased to write, either to the Collector of Coimbatoor or Tinnevelly, for fifty strongest bamboos from the hills there, and to order the charge thereof to be defrayed from the surplus Devastanum fund. In doing this greatest act of public charity, your name shall be renowned for a great length of years.

" And shall pray,

" (Signed) SREERUNGA NARAYANA IEEYER."

" 15*th April*, 1836."

The annexed Extract from a Letter, addressed to the Board of Revenue, by a former Collector of Trichinopoly, is given as an instance, amongst many, of the degree of minute attention which is sometimes paid by the European Officers to the duty imposed upon them by Regulation VII. of 1817.

" As the Brahmans state it to be absolutely required for the efficient performance of the ceremonies, I should hope it will be sanctioned: it falls very far short of Mr. ——'s estimate; and the greater part, it

will be observed, is for lamp-oil. Of the very miserable way in which the pagoda is lighted, I can bear testimony; having been in it at night, when I was not expected; and when, of course, no more than the ordinary preparations were made. The Brahmins are constantly petitioning me on the subject; and I should hope the prayer of their petition will be granted."

In the same district, a few years past, an expenditure was authorised, on the special application of the Collector, of 40,000 Rupees, for the repair of the walls of the pagoda at Seringham; and the progress of the work was occasionally superintended, in person, by the European Officer and his subordinates. As further manifesting the nature and extent of the Government interference, it may be deserving of notice, that the cars of the same pagoda have been provided, from the Government arsenal, with European cables. These acts may be, in part, justifiable, while the Government retains in its own hands the pagoda funds, and the people are not left to themselves to provide for their religious buildings and rites as they may see fit. It tends to prove, however, that so long as the administration of the pagoda funds is with the Government, it is a necessary consequence that their Officers, and their aid, should be required, and seen in every act of Idolatry, leading the people unavoidably to the conclusion that their superstitions are the object of the paternal solicitude of the Government.

The following communication, which reached the Collector's office in Coimbatoor at the same period with those entered above, affords a striking example of the evils inflicted on this people by the debasing superstitions now upheld by the Government.

"*To the Acting Principal Collector of Coimbatoor.—From the Tahsildar of Dharaporam.*

"Up to September of the present year, I am attending to the Police business in the above district.

"In that district, at Pasava Iswaraswami's Pagoda, on the 24th of the present month, at noon, a woman cut off as much as two fingers from the tip of her tongue, and placed it before the pagoda, that she might obtain something which she desired; and, leaving food and drink, lay there, pâvâdum (the victim of self-inflicted torture). As soon as this was known to the Pagoda Manigar (Overseer), and the Cutwal (Police Officer), they went to her, and made inquiry: they found that she had done it in full strength; but her tongue being cut, she could not speak, and the people there know nothing of the affair. But it appears, that

a dispute had arisen between one Sangeetha Sithambaram, his sister, and connexions on one side; and the dancing-master, musician, and some dancing-girls, on the other; when the inauguration [or marriage of a dancing-girl to the Idol] was about to take place; in consequence of which, the marriage of the said woman (to the Idol) has not been finished to this time. But two other dancing-girls, hearing the people say that it was right it should be done, and knowing that the orders of Government had been given for it, went to the Manigar, and said, that if that marriage took place they would do themselves some injury. The Government Officers took their depositions, and forwarded it to the Magistrate; and directed, that, till further orders, the marriage should not proceed:—the woman, then, according to native habits, in order to bring some evil from Swami (the god) upon the opposite party, went and threw herself before the pagoda, and cut off a part of her tongue.

"The Cutwal, and others, wrote to the Office, that the said woman, Vencati, dancing-girl, had cut her tongue, and was lying there. On my making inquiry, though no one could give me a proper account, yet Sithambaram made out, that the woman belonged to his party; that on being charged to stop the marriage, by the Circar (Government), he had done so; and that now the said Vencati is lying in this state. Because the said Sithambaram and his party gave this account of the business, and positively declare it was thus, I thought that they, being people in the (Government) employment, and she being without such employment, they may have led her into this mischief; and was making further inquiry, when I was informed, that at that very time, at Kaliana Ramaswami's Pagoda, a man named Kakken had in the same way cut his tongue, and was lying there. On inquiry, I was told, by those who stood by, that he had resorted to this painful expedient to remove some disease; and that, from year to year, many persons thus cut their tongues, and lie before the pagoda; and that, after eight days living on milk, &c., their tongues grow again.

"But not depending on what the people say, respecting the two persons who now lie here (pâvâdum), I have charged the Cutwal, as usual, to give them milk, and take care of them. Thus I report the matter, and wait for orders."

Another branch of the system of Pagoda Management, under Regulation VII. of 1817, is thus described (in May last) by an officer personally concerned. His remarks, annexed, will sufficiently evince the injustice done to the Public Officers of Government, under this system.

"The offerings made at several Idol Temples are now rented out annually, on behalf of Government. In these cases, all the influence of

the Collector's public servants is employed in favour of the renter. A cowle, or deed of rent, is executed, which prescribes minute rules for the whole ceremonial of approaching the temple, and making the offerings; and contains strong injunctions tending to honour the Idol and increase the value of the offerings. The produce of these rents becomes part of the revenue of Government; and the Collectors, and their Subordinates, are entitled to commission on it *."

"There are those, amongst the covenanted servants of the Government of Fort St. George, who regard these, and similar acts, which they are officially required to perform, with conscientious abhorrence; and who doubt, notwithstanding the palliatives of their performance being constrained, and amounting rather to permission than participation, or even consent—who doubt, whether, in order to preserve a good conscience, they will not be obliged to quit a department for which their inclination, as well as their experience and qualifications, adapt them: or, if that cannot be, boldly to refuse obedience, and take the consequences, which might be the temporal ruin of themselves and their families."

The identification of the Government with the Idolatry of the Country is indeed so complete, that not only are the endowments taken under the fiscal management of the Collector of Revenue in each district, but Public Officers are retained, in several provinces, whose *sole* and especial duty it is, to see that all the services to the Idols in the district are duly performed, the different attendants at their posts, the vessels, temples, &c. &c., in repair, and to report to the European Officer (the Collector) at the head of the province. They take no step without reference to that officer, and in all cases resort to him for orders. At the larger temples, a special officer is employed, whose duty it is to superintend the particular temple. It must be particularly observed, however, that the authority in every temple, whose office it is to manage the rites and ceremonies of the temple, is the Dharmacarta, or Sthallatar (Temple Warden); so that the special officers, Devastanum Peshcars, Ameens, are supervisors of the temple, under the Collector. And it is notorious, that, at this hour, the pagodas and their idolatrous rites are, under British Rule, officially superintended with an efficiency and care, descending to minute particulars, which they never received, even under the Hindoo Governments.

* Under a new arrangement respecting the salaries of Collectors, this commission, it is understood, is *now* (July) no longer drawn by the Collector, but carried to the account of Government.

The extent to which this systematic interference and encouragement (legalized by Regulation VII. of 1817) has been carried (it will be observed from the following extract from a Letter of a former Secretary, to the Board of Revenue, dated in 1823) has been long seen, and lamented; and it will be seen from it, that the evils of the system have not been overstated.

"A countenance and support the most unhallowed are given to the abominations of Hindoo Worship, by our own actual management, direction, and control of their fraudulent and impure system—by donations from our Treasuries—and by the countenance and official aid of our Public Officers, who frequently make offerings and donations in their own name*, and (*proh pudor!*) in that of the Company. This evil—for I think it is a material stain—is particularly prominent now; and the Collector of Madras is at this moment a defendant in the Supreme Court, in an action of trespass, for forcibly taking possession of the jewels of the Idol of Triplicane Pagoda; which he justifies, as the proper and necessary act of the Officer of Government, to secure them from the depredations of (whom?) the responsible Hindoo Manager (Dharmacarta).—Surely such a case ought to come before the Court, in no other shape than as a suit on the part of the Hindoo worshippers against their own officer, for malversation! A Christian Government and its Officers cannot consistently direct and intermeddle with the administration of pagoda affairs."

APPENDIX D.

DRAWING OF THE IDOL CAR.

The following extracts, taken from the narratives of eye-witnesses, detail the circumstances attending the drawing of the Idol Car, under the system of forced labour; and the injuries suffered by the people from the interposition of Government in aid of this burdensome act of Idolatrous Worship.

"This iniquity [the compulsory attendance of the poorer classes] presses everywhere; yet it is, I imagine, found in its greatest excess in Tanjore.

"During the Car Feast at Trivalore, where I happened to be at the time, a respectable resident of the town was brought before me, charged with having connived at the escape of some of the coolies collected for

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* This especial patronage of Idolatry by Christian Functionaries, improbable as it may appear, is by no means unfrequent. When it does occur, it will be often found to have been the result of native female influence: and hence *the necessity* for positive orders prohibiting such interference.

drawing the car, by suffering them to run through his house, instead of shutting the door against them in the street. The man defended himself by saying that the peons (low grade of Police-officers) were beating them; and they made a rush through his premises, and passed out at the back, before he could interfere. At the same feast, a respectable Merassidar, or land-holder, came to complain that he had just been beaten in the street, by the Curnum (Government Accountant) of his village. The Curnum, on being sent for, replied, that the party of labourers he came in charge of were idle in drawing the cars; and that he had no other way to avoid incurring responsibility himself, than by beating the Merassidar who furnished them. The *Tahsildar* (Chief Native Officer of the Police and Revenue) of the division or talook came to speak to me in behalf of the Curnum. He represented the impossibility of getting the car drawing accomplished, unless flogging were allowed; and stated, with much respect, that he himself had beaten, he believed, not less than five hundred people, on the same occasion.

"In corroboration of the facts stated, I insert an extract from the journal of a friend, written in 1830, who was also an eye-witness of what he relates.

"About ten o'clock last evening, the car made its appearance, drawn by many hundreds of poor men. Two very large ropes were attached to this vehicle, by which the people dragged it along; and on each side of the ropes, peons and others were stationed with whips and sticks, to flog the people, if they were negligent in their duty: and here I am sorry to observe, that the instruments were often called into exercise in the most wanton, unfeeling, and barbarous manner. Upon the whole, the horrid yells of the people, united with the cracking of whips and the beating of tomtoms, presented an affecting display of the horrors of heathenism, of which a person unacquainted with India can form but an indistinct conception.

"About three o'clock this morning, I went to see them drag the large car, which was the third in the procession. The second stood in the street, unable to move any further, from want of additional assistance. On entering the street in which the large car was, I found that that had not been moved at all, for the same reason. There were six ropes attached to it; the longest, I was informed, sixteen hundred feet in length; and the poor people had made these ropes their pillows, on which they were taking a little rest, being evidently much fatigued, before their labours commenced. The street was greatly crowded; and although there could not have been fewer than eight or nine thousand persons, yet this number was insufficient to move this mighty engine of Idolatry. While I stood near the car, an effort was made to move it;

but, notwithstanding all their whips and sticks, and various instruments of a similar description, were put in full operation, their laborious endeavours were in vain. While looking at the scene of confusion before me, I was particularly shocked to witness the punishment of an unfortunate Headman of a village, who had not brought his people together at a sufficiently early period. A peon laid hold of his left ear, and flogged him with a rattan about the legs and thighs, in the most unfeeling and brutal manner."

Another friend, writing from Tinnevelly, in 1832, says—

"I need not describe to you the misery which the people, compelled to come (for the car-pulling), must endure: you know it. They being unwilling to come, the peons must force them, drive them like sheep, which of course implies flogging too: they are not paid for the job: they are kept days and nights together, like flocks of sheep, frequently without food. No wonder that their strength fails. I recollect that Mr. M—— offered to pay all who would willingly come to pull; but even that had no effect."

The following fact, the particulars of which will be found on the Records of 1833, of the Collectorate of Tanjore, the great seat of Hindooism in Southern India, will further prove how little the people desire the interposition of the Government.

The landed proprietors of one of the divisions having failed in 1832 to furnish their quota of labourers for the drawing of an idol car at some little distance from their homes, the Idol was not moved; and the following year, a Petition was forwarded to the Collector by all the principal inhabitants of that division, representing, that as the other division had failed the preceding year to furnish their quota, and they were indifferent to the Idol being removed at their expense, they begged to be relieved from the usual demand upon their few labourers. Their request was conceded by the Collector; and both divisions have accordingly, at their spontaneous desire, been relieved from their burden. It is deserving of attention, that the petitioners are themselves chiefly Brahmans.

We furnish another extract on this head, the narration of a Missionary of long standing in the country—an eye-witness of the facts related; which, while it exemplifies the real working of the Government interference in forcing labour at the idol cars, establishes the position in the Address, that our Religion is dishonoured in the eyes of the people, and that Idolatry receives official sanction and support.

"His Lordship (Lord William Bentinck) observes, "that the

fundamental principle of British rule is strict neutrality." The degree to which this principle has been departed from, by the system of taking the pagodas, their revenues, and services under the inspection and control of the Collector and Magistrate of the province, and throwing the whole weight of the British integrity and power into the scale, for the regular carrying on of Idolatry, has been often and fully shown; and I would gladly pass the subject by, were it not one which we are perpetually compelled to hear of, from the Natives themselves; who, when they are addressed on the subject of Christianity, especially at public feasts, when official interference is most conspicuous, continually reply—'Things cannot be as you represent.—You say Idolatry is contrary to the commandment of God; and that, so far from being acceptable to Him, it is positive sin. It cannot be so; for the Government (Circar) people superintend our pagodas, our feasts, and all that is connected with the regular carrying on of Idolatry; and certainly they would not do so, if Idolatry were as bad as you represent.'

"We are not here framing an argument; but simply recording one, by which our expostulations on the impropriety of idol worship are continually met. Nor is the logic altogether unsound; for the people entertain too high an opinion of the British Government to suppose they would lead them on, aid and abet them, in that which is morally evil. And if any one considers the inference is overstrained, let him attend a large car-festival. Let him see the car prepared—a work which often occupies two or three weeks; and he will see the materials required brought in by compulsion of the Circar; the whole going on under the direction of a representative of the Local Government Officer; and that the entire work of preparing the Idol is, from the manner in which it is carried on, strictly a circar work. Again, let him see the hundreds or the thousands of persons come in from the surrounding towns and villages to draw the car; and he will see, that they are compelled to leave their homes, sometimes thirty or forty miles distant, and driven by a subordinate public servant, armed with a whip, which he is at liberty to apply to any one who is tardy. Let him attend the actual drawing of the car; and he will see the Government peons standing on the cables with rattans and other implements of punishment, and these severely applied to any one of the unfortunate labourers who is thought not to put forth his full strength in drawing the ponderous vehicle. Let him see the severity with which any one who tries to escape from the work, and any whose full complement of labourers are not there at the proper time, and till the whole is over, are treated; and he will admit, that the inference drawn by the Natives is perfectly natural. It cannot be wondered that the people are unwilling to perform a service which, on some occasions, keeps them far from their

homes for days and nights, in the open streets; and which subjects them to most serious wounds, by the breaking of the cables. On a recent occasion, the cables broke three times; and as they are very large (five or six inches in diameter), the wounds received by their violent fall are very severe, and broken bones not at all uncommon.

"This is not a description of things as they once were; but as they now are (1835) in some provinces of this Peninsula."

The following account of the lamentable destruction of life, which occurred so recently as the 25th of March 1836, at a car-festival at Conjeveram, will still more fully exhibit the enormous evils of the present system: and when it is borne in mind, that the drawing of the idol cars is not voluntary, but effected solely by Government authority and interference, and would not be accomplished without them, it may well be a question, whether the fearful responsibility of the crime of murder does not justly rest upon the British people.

"Within the last three weeks, the lives of fifteen men, hale and valuable cultivators, have been sacrificed at Conjeveram *; eight of them crushed to death at the moment by the idol car; the remaining seven have since died of the wounds that they then received. The cable, by which the car had been drawn, it appears, broke; and either by the impetus already communicated to the machine, or by impulse from the crowd behind, possibly by both, these fifteen deaths were inflicted, before the progress of the car was arrested."—*Conservative.*

"We hear that an occurrence fraught with serious consequences lately took place at the car-festival at Conjeveram *. This festival of

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* The following is the Circular Order of Government alluded to in the Note to the Memorial; by which it will be seen that the facts in the text are substantially verified.

"No. 621.—Circular.

"*Revenue Department. Fort St. George, 21st May,* 1836.

"Sir—I am directed to transmit, for your information and guidance, the accompanying copy of a correspondence with the Magistrate of Chingleput.

"I have the honour to be &c. &c. &c.

"*To the Magistrate of* —— (Signed) H. CHAMIER, *Chief Secretary.*"

"No. 3. "*Poonamallee, 7th April,* 1836.

"Sir—Par. 1. I regret to acquaint you, for the information of the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, that, during my absence from the district, a shocking accident, involving the loss of no less than ten human lives, occurred at Conjeveram, on the 28th ultimo, during the performance of a native feast at that place.

"2. The particulars of this lamentable case are detailed in the accompanying Extract of a Letter from Mr. R. B. Sewell; who promptly repaired to the spot,

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the Seiva sect falls on the Uttira-naeshatra of the month Pagunna (corresponding with the end of March), and is celebrated at the large temple, containing a stone image, worshipped under the name of Yegambara Isvaren. While the car was being drawn, the cable broke; and the people behind the wheels, not knowing what had occurred, continued to push them on by means of levers, as usual; so that they went over several persons, who were unable in time to extricate themselves. It is stated, that nine persons were killed on the spot; and a great number severely hurt, but without immediate loss of life. We also hear that the Tahsildar was near the wheels, and with some difficulty

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carrying with him medical assistance, in the hope of affording relief to the unhappy sufferers.

"3. I have caused inquiries to be made regarding the circumstances of the families of the deceased; and I shall report the result to you hereafter.

"*To the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort St. George.*" "I have &c.
(Signed) A. MACLEAN, *Magistrate.*"

Extract of a Letter from the Assistant Magistrate, R. B. Sewell, Esq.

"*Conjeveram, March* 29, 1836.

"The manner in which the accident occurred, was this. While engaged in drawing the car, and at a moment when (owing to its having received too violent an impetus from the people working at the levers behind) it was moving along with great velocity, one of the men at the ropes unfortunately lost his hold, and fell: others fell over him; and before a stop could be put to the progress of the ponderous machine, its wheels had passed over the bodies of ten individuals. Of these, only two survived when Dr. Cumming arrived at Conjeveram; that gentleman having, with a readiness and activity very much to his credit, set out from Wallajabad immediately on my communicating the circumstance to him, with a view to administer such surgical relief to the sufferers as their situation might admit of: all, with the exception of the two above mentioned, had, however, died before his arrival. Indeed, had the most efficient surgical assistance been on the spot at the time the accident occurred, there is every reason to doubt whether it would have been effectual in saving any of those unfortunate persons. I did not myself see the bodies, as they had been given over to their friends for burial, according to my orders, issued on the receipt of the Tahsildar's urzee; but the account given me by the Tahsildar, and other eye-witnesses, of this melancholy catastrophe, exhibited a dreadful picture of the condition they were in. Those killed on the spot had been so completely crushed and flattened by the weight of the broad and heavy wheels, that it was with the greatest difficulty they were recognised by their friends; while of the others, who died shortly after, the legs, arms, and other parts of the body were fearfully torn and mangled. The friends and relations of these poor men, crowding round their disfigured bodies with frantic cries and lamentations, added to the misery of the scene.

"All the coolies attached to the ropes of the car had in the mean time dispersed, in different directions, to their respective villages; and it was with much difficulty

escaped. He is said to have written a Letter to the Collector, to beg that the drawing of the car might be stopped; whether for that occasion only, or entirely, we are not certain."—*Philadelphian.*

The following information, obtained by an English Gentleman, through a Native Gentleman, one of the members of the Grand Jury at Madras, details the particulars of this melancholy event; and will clearly prove that the individuals killed were, with three exceptions, the victims of forced labour at the idol car.

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difficulty that the Tahsildar, by my order, was able to re-collect a comparatively inconsiderable number, for the purpose of re-conveying the machine from the place where it had stopped to its place of destination. I arrived here from Wallajabad at about five o'clock in the evening; and after visiting one of the wounded men (the other having been conveyed to a village at some distance from Conjeveram), proceeded to the street where the car stood; and it was soon afterwards set in motion. It however proceeded slowly, partly owing to the small number of coolies who could be procured to pull the ropes, and partly to the terror which the accident of the morning had not failed to inspire. I remained with it for about three hours; and by means of great exertions on the part of the peons, in pressing into the service every able-bodied person, without distinction, to be found in the streets (a measure which was found to be absolutely necessary), as well as in preventing the escape of those at the ropes, considerable progress had been made; and there appeared to be a fair prospect of the car's reaching its destination without any further hindrance, when I retired at about half-past nine.

"This morning, however, I received intelligence, that, soon after my departure, it was found impossible to retain the people any longer at the ropes. Hunger and fatigue had rendered the greater part incapable of further exertions, even had they possessed the inclination to make them. The car was deserted; and the Tahsildar found it necessary to postpone any further attempt to re-convey it to its station till the morning. At break of day, a considerable number of coolies were collected; and the machine was at length deposited in the place from whence it would have been highly desirable that it had never issued.

"It will not be considered within my province to make any comment on the occurrences above detailed: I shall therefore refrain from doing so. Should you conceive the matter to be of sufficient importance to be submitted for the consideration of higher authority, it will rest with them to decide upon the measures best calculated to prevent the recurrence of such tragedies as the one above related. The withdrawal of the aid and interference of Government, in the celebration of these festivals, more especially as regards pressing individuals, contrary to their inclination, into the service of the car, would appear most likely to have this effect.

"(A true extract)

"(Signed) A. MACLEAN, *Magistrate.*"

Information respecting the deaths occasioned by the car of the Ekambara Iswara Pagoda, at Conjeveram, on the 25th day of March 1836.

QUESTIONS.	ANSWERS.
1. Do you know any thing respecting the deaths at Great Conjeveram, at the drawing of the car at Ekambara Iswara Pagoda?	About twenty yards behind the car-stand, a nemboo, or wooden bar, was put underneath, to move the car; when the middle rope fastened to the car gave way, and the people who were drawing, by holding the rope in their hands, fell down, and the people who bore the three other ropes continued to draw the car with full force; when the wheels of the car got over those who fell down, and thirteen persons in number have been crushed to death.
2. What are the caste, profession, and country of the people who were killed?	2. Eleven of them are Pullies, one Pundaram, and one Pariah. They were chiefly maintained by cultivation. Of them, eight belong to the village of Cacondoo—one Pundaram of Arney—and two of Paloor. The names and country of the other two persons are not known, as no one appeared as their representatives. The two other persons who have been wounded belong to Oathoor-Mulloor.
3. By whose orders were these persons brought to draw the car? and what are they usually allowed?	3. By order of the Tahsildar of the Talook; and they are not accustomed to receive any thing, either from the Circar (Government), or from the Devastanum (pagoda).

"No. 620.—*To the Magistrate of Chingleput.*

"SIR—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 7th ultimo, No. 3, reporting an accident which occurred at Conjeveram on the 28th of the preceding month, during the performance of a native feast, by which ten individuals lost their lives: and, with reference to the concluding paragraph of the Extract from the Letter from the Assistant Magistrate, submitted therewith, to acquaint you, that the Governor in Council is of opinion that the interference of the Officers of Government, in requiring the attendance of the people, against their inclination, to draw the car at native festivals, cannot but be felt by them as a grievous hardship: and, as in the present instance, it has been attended with serious loss of human life, to desire that you will discontinue the practice in future, and confine your interference on such occasions to the preservation of the peace.

"I have &c.

"(Signed) HENRY CHAMIER, *Chief Secretary.*

"(True Copies) (Signed) H. CHAMIER, *Chief Secretary.*"

The following Official Correspondence sets forth at large the manner in which the people, required for setting the idol cars in motion, are collected, the distances from which they are brought from their homes, and the multitudes required.

It also exhibits the specific character of the Government interference, the serious evils and inconvenience to which the people are exposed, and their repugnance to the duty forced upon them.

The first document in the series, marked No. 1, is an Urzee (Letter) from the Tahsildar (Head Native Officer of a district) to his European Superior; complaining that the persons required to attend, for the purpose of drawing the idol car, had failed to appear; and requesting that fines might be imposed, as a punishment for the past, and a warning for the future. It is dated 13th May 1835.

It shows also the numbers of the people required to attend from each village, and their reluctance to the task.

Translation of an Urzee addressed to the Sub-Collector of South Arcot by Venkyah Tahsildar of Bowangherry, on the 13*th May* 1835.

No. 1.

"I have issued takeeds (orders) to the Tynat Peons of twenty-one villages on the 10th instant, requiring the usual supply of men to draw the chariot of the Pagoda of Vencatasa Paroomal, situated in the Cusbah of Bowangherry, on the 12th instant; but the Tynat Peons of seven villages only supplied 317 men, consisting of boys for the most part, instead of 495 men, which is the usual supply; and no supply was made at all from the other fifteen villages: consequently, I was obliged to make other people, who resorted to this place to celebrate the feast, to undertake the drawing of the pagoda chariot, with the small supply above alluded to; which was commenced in the morning, and finished at two o'clock P. M. on the 12th instant, with much difficulty. Had the supply of men been made from the twenty-one villages as usual, the drawing of the chariot would have been finished by 8 o'clock in the morning. In consequence of the failure of the Puttamonegars and Tynat Peons of the said fifteen villages, the said small supply &c. underwent much fatigue. Even in common cases of one or two village servants failing in this respect, they usually receive severe reprimands; but if this negligent conduct of the Tynat Peons and Puttamonegars of the above twenty-one villages be duly noticed for the deficiency in the supply of some, and for the total failure of the others, the repetition of similar neglect, during the feasts of Chillumbram, Streemoostum, and this talook, will be prevented.—I enclose herein a statement, showing the particulars for the villages where the total as well as the partial failure of the supply of men occurred; and beg that these village officers may be punished, by a heavy fine.

"(Signed) VENKYAH, *Tahsildar*."

Statement, showing the names of the Tynat Peons, and the villages from which the supply of men are usually sent to draw the chariot of Paroomal Pagoda, at Bowangherry Cusbah; together with the quantity of supply required, and the supply actually sent.

Names of the Tynat Peons of each division of villages.	Names and Villages from which men are usually supplied.	Supply mentioned in the List sent.	Supply actually made.	Deficiency of the supply.
Appow Naick	Cusbah and Sunthapetta, and 4 villages	50	30	20
Ramasawmy........	Autheraraganuttum, and 4 villages	60	..	60
Kistnama Naick	Vydoor, and 7 villages	75	30	45
... .	Kistnapoorum, and 9 villages	150	107	43
Puttamahomed......	Sattapandy, and 7 villages	100	78	22
Narraina Naick......	Cooreyamangalum, and 4 villages	50	35	15
Abdulcawder...	Tachacadoo, and 5 villages	60	..	60
Syed Hussain	Moottaloor, and 9 villages	70	37	33
Vencatram Naick....	Teertanagary, and 8 villages	95	..	95
... ...	Panloovattavannan, and 6 villages	50	..	50
Syed Hussain	Teagavelly, and 7 villages	80	..	80
Shaickdaved	Annooyaput, and 5 villages	50	..	50
Latchamana Naick...	Pooleyoor, and 6 villages	50	..	50
Moottoosawmy Naick	Vencatampetta, and 9 villages	60	..	60
Allycaly	Tylaconamputnam, and 7 villages	120	..	120
Abdurcan............	Aury, and 7 villages	75	..	75
Cather Cawn	Caringooly, and 4 villages	65	..	65
Mahomed Yacoob....	Caoringepaudy, and 6 villages	120	..	120
Samoo Naick.	Keyloor, and 3 villages	35	..	35
Ramasamy Naick....	Vodacothoo, and 5 villages	50	..	50
Vistagherry Naick ..	Peramuttoor, and 5 villages	60	..	60

May 13, 1835. (Signed) VENKYAH, *Tahsildar.*

The next document, marked No. 2, is a Letter from the Principal Collector of Southern Arcot, to the Principal Collector of Northern Arcot, applying for the usual complement of men to attend out of the Collectorate of Northern Arcot, at the Idol Car Festival at Trinnomally, in the Collectorate of Southern Arcot. It is dated 10th of November 1835.

" No. 2.—*To the Principal Collector.*

" Sir—The Annual Chariot Festival at Trinnomally being fixed for the morning of the 30th instant, I have the honour to request that you will be so good as direct the Tahsildar of Pooloor to render the usual assistance, in furnishing men for the purpose of drawing the chariot on the appointed day.

" I have the honour to be, Sir,

" Your most obedient Servant.

" (Signed) * * * * *Collector.*"

" *Collector's Cutcherry, Nov.* 10*th*, 1835.

The next document, marked No. 3, is an Urzee (Address) by the Public Native Officer of the district, to the Sub-Collector; in answer to an inquiry as to the practice prevailing in that division in respect to forced labour at the Idol Car.

No. 3.—*Translation of an Urzee, addressed to the Sub-Collector of ——, by Sadaseeva-Row Sheristadar, of the Tàlook of Trinnomally, on the* 18*th of May* 1836.

"I beg leave to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of the 16th instant, requiring to know, 'How many people are usually collected here to pull the cars for the feast in the month of Cartheegay; whether it is customary for the people to come from all the other Talooks, and from those in the adjoining district; and, if so, whether any regular allowance of hire or batta is paid to them daily, for their subsistence; and all other circumstances relating to the subject.'—I beg to state, in reply, that, since the Company's administration, it is customary (fifteen or twenty days before the commencement of the feast) for the Tahsildar to address an Urzee to the Principal Collector, and collect men from all the villages in this Talook, agreeably to his orders. As the cars of this pagoda are very large, 3000 men are usually collected from the villages in this Talook, 3000 from Trivallore, and 3000 from Chaitput; the Tahsildars of which Talooks are instructed previously, by the Principal Collector, to collect the above number of men, and attend personally at this place during the feast. In addition to this, a similar number of men are supplied, usually under an escort of peons and duffadars, by the Tahsildar of Pooloor Talook, in the adjoining district, upon an order to him of the Collector of the district, at the request of that Principal Collector. No hire or batta are usually paid to the above people, nor is it customary for them to come without call; but they are brought by the Tanah Peons, and Taliaries of each village, upon the orders of the different Tahsildars to them. Some few people are accustomed to attend uncalled: they only remain for the first night; and return back to their places the next morning, after the cars are brought back to the usual stand.

"I therefore beg to acquaint you with the usual custom of the place; and to state further, that all the people employed to pull the cars are in the habit of bringing, for their expenses, from their own houses, and maintain themselves during their stay in this place, being brought by order of the Talook authorities.

"(Signed) Sadasava Row, *Sheristadar.*"

It must be observed, that Trinnomally, where the car festival, mentioned in the two preceding documents, is held, is distant from Pooloor, in the neighbouring Collectorate, twenty miles, or thereabouts; so that, besides the 9000 people from the adjoining Talooks in the same Collectorate, the annual burden sought to be imposed upon 3000 people in one Talook of a neighbouring Collectorate is, a compulsory journey from their homes, on an average, of not less than twenty miles, without any compensation, for the purpose of undergoing the laborious duty of drawing an idol car.

It may also be stated, upon the authority of a Gentleman who was for several years Sub-Collector in the province of Tanjore, "that in that district alone there are not less than four hundred thousand people, compelled, year by year, to leave their homes, and proceed, often ten, twenty, or thirty miles, without any provision or remuneration, for the purpose of dragging the obscene and disgusting idol cars of the province;" and that, "unless Government were to enforce their attendance, not a man of them would come; nor would they, when arrived, pull the cars, were it not for dread of Government, and of the whip, applied by the Government servants, to compel their exertions."

APPENDIX E.

In 1832, the Mahomedan Eedgah (a sacred edifice, in which festivals are celebrated) at Bangalore was defiled by the bleeding carcase of a pig, surmounted with a wooden cross, being placed upon it, on the night preceding the performance of the Khootbah (an oration or exhortation), which, at the season of the Ramzan, was usually attended by many thousands of the Faithful.

This act of wanton mischief was imputed to the Christians (but which was, in truth, as was afterwards proved, perpetrated by a discontented Mahomedan*); and had its desired effect, in causing a very high degree of excitement and irritation among the Mahomedan population, especially amongst such of the troops as were of that faith: it ended in some overt acts of violence. Peace, however, was eventually restored; and, with an intention to quiet the minds of the Mahomedans, it was suggested to the Government, that a new Eedgah should be built, at the *public expense*. This was readily acceded to; and the present elegant structure, which stands

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* Naigue Oosman Beg, 35th Regiment N. I., was the person who placed the carcase of the pig on the Eedgah. He was tried by a General Court-Martial, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot.

on the high ground in the rear of the Cantonment, was built, as a substitute for the low and mean building which had been defiled.

No sooner, however, was it erected, than a very general rumour prevailed, that the structure was not only in itself defiled, by being raised by "infidel" (Christian) means, but that its very foundation was laid in impurity; the head of the very pig, which had proved the cause of all the commotion, having been buried under it. That report received so much credence with the Mahomedan community, that very few individuals of that persuasion attended the succeeding Khootbah; and the Cazee (Law Officer) of the Cantonment, who was the officiating Imâm (Priest) at this ceremony, was with great reluctance persuaded to attend in his place; not so much from any credit he gave to this absurd report, as from the dread that he would fall a victim to the infuriated zeal of the mob, who, he feared, would visit their resentment on him, for not having protested against and prevented the erection of this sacred edifice, which, by the means employed in its elevation, was, in their estimation, polluted. This feeling of distrust was not entirely removed at the celebration of the Khootbah in the following year: nor is it, perhaps, altogether, even yet, obliterated from the minds of those of the Mahomedan population then present, who now remain at this station.

The prejudice against the building did not here terminate. There became prevalent a very general whisper, but of a nature not to be mistaken, that the new building *ought* to be *demolished*, in order to blot out the dishonour done to the Mahomedans. This was brought to the notice of the Government Officers, by the Mahomedan paid Functionaries; and, accordingly, a guard of Sepoys was mounted on the Eedgah, in pursuance of Cantonment Orders of 9th of May 1832.

This guard continued, until a General Order of the Commander-in-Chief was issued, limiting the places and the occasions on which guards were to be employed. That placed over the Eedgah not being included in the General Order, was accordingly withdrawn; but subsequently, upon representations made of the dangers to which the Eedgah was exposed *from the Mahomedan* population, a special order was issued, dated in October 1832, replacing the guard over the Eedgah; and that guard is continued up to this day (20th of June 1836).

The following are the Orders referred to:

9*th May*, 1832.

A party of 1 Naigue, 6 privates, (Mussulmans) from the 9th Regiment N. I., will be stationed at the Eedgah, from to-morrow morning until further orders. The Naigue to attend at the Major of Brigade's Office, at 4 o'clock this afternoon, for instructions.

16*th May*, 1832.

The guard of the 9th Regiment, at the Eedgah, to be withdrawn.

10*th October*, 1832.

Under instructions received from the Acting Adjutant-General of the Army, the Officer commanding Bangalore is directed to place a small guard at the Eedgah recently built, for its protection, until further orders.

A further evidence of the unwillingness which the Mussulman inhabitants of this Presidency have shown to the interference of the Government with their religion will be found in the fact, that whilst no distinction is drawn in Regulation VII. of 1817, as to the official interference to be exercised in the case of pagodas and mosques; in practice, the Collector, and his *Officers*, have abstained generally from immediate direction and participation in Mahomedan Rites, yet they have entered minutely into the management of Idolatrous Ceremonies. This fact appears sufficient to prove that the prescribed interference is unnecessary in both cases; and, in the one instance, certainly undesired, and would not be borne. In the case of the Hindoo, his acquiescence is as much to be ascribed to his indifference, and his habit of servile submission to authority, as to any other cause.

APPENDIX F.

COMPULSORY ATTENDANCE OF PROTESTANTS AT THE SERVICES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

The annexed instance speaks for itself. And it will be sufficient to state, that it is not a singular instance, where *European* Protestants, in H. M. or the Honourable Company's Service, have been required, when members of the Band, to attend, and assist at the worship of the Church of Rome.

" The Band of His Majesty's 54th Regiment, which consisted, with one exception, of Protestants (six being pious men, and communicants), were ordered to attend a Roman-Catholic feast, the name of which I forget, in September or October 1834. They were obliged to be present at two distinct Services in the Roman-Catholic Chapel, playing at

intervals, and especially at the elevation of the Host; and this took place on the Sabbath Day, on which the Lord's Supper was administered in the Protestant Church. The individual who brought this circumstance to my knowledge stated that his feelings, as a Christian, were never more wounded in his life.

"It may be well to observe, that His Majesty's Regulations peremptorily forbid a Roman-Catholic soldier being obliged to attend a Protestant Place of Worship. How much more should this rule apply, in the other case, when the Protestant is taught, that the Services of the Roman-Catholic Church are idolatrous, and the doctrine of the Mass "a blasphemous fable, and dangerous deceit"?

REPLY TO THE MADRAS MEMORIAL.

From Mr. Chief-Secretary, Henry Chamier, to the Rev. the Lord Bishop of Madras; dated 11th October 1836.

"My Lord—I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's Letter of the 6th August 1836, enclosing a Memorial, signed by some of the Ministers and members of the different Denominations of Protestant Christians in the Presidency of Fort St. George, on the subject of Religious Toleration; and praying that a copy of their Address, supported by the powerful recommendation of this Government in its favour, may be forwarded to the Right Hon. the Governor-General of India in Council, with a view to the attachment of the full measure of relief thereby sought.

The Right Hon. the Governor in Council, conceiving that the principles upon which it may be deemed fit to regulate such matters as are noticed by the Memorialists should be alike throughout all parts of the territories subject to British dominion in India, has forwarded the Memorial for the consideration and orders of the Supreme Government, with a full statement of his sentiments on the subject, and will communicate the result to your Lordship at a future period. Those sentiments, I am directed to apprise your Lordship, are not in support of the measures advocated by the Memorialists; and it is matter of the deepest pain and concern to the Right Hon. the Governor in Council, that your Lordship, instead of exercising the proper influence of your office, strengthened as it must be by the personal respect which is everywhere entertained for you, in moderating the zeal of over-heated minds, should have made yourself the channel of a communication fraught with danger to the peace of the country, and destructive of the harmony and good-will which should prevail amongst all classes of the community.

"I have, &c.

"(Signed) Henry Chamier, *Chief Secretary.*

"*Fort St. George, Oct.* 11, 1836."

APPENDIX III.

Madras, March 1, 1838.

1. It is now eighteen months since the Madras Memorial was presented to the Indian Authorities: and instead of affording the relief solicited, all the subsequent acts of the Government have plainly manifested an intention to refuse our prayer. We are compelled, therefore, to relinquish our expectation of attention to the Memorial in this Country. But the objects which, as Memorialists, we sought to obtain, are so important, and of such vital consequence to the progress of our Holy Religion, and so immediately affect the honour of our Blessed Lord and Master, that, as Christians, we cannot cease our efforts. With this view, we are anxious to put you in possession of all that has occurred, since the Letter of the Local Government, of the 11th of October 1836, to our late revered Bishop, which acknowledged the receipt of the Memorial.

2. Before entering upon the detail of the proceedings of the Government, it seems to our friends here right to offer a few observations.

They are anxious to point out distinctly, that it is no part of their object, and would be contrary to their wish, that any thing more should be sought, from the Authorities, for Christians, than that equal toleration for which the Memorial prayed. They would deeply regret any interference with, or any aggression on, the religious freedom now secured to the Mahomedan or the Hindoo. They desire no peculiar privilege for Christians; but, solely, a real, practical toleration for them, as for others; and to see the principle of toleration, so well defined in the Court of Directors' Despatch of 1833, carried out by the Local Government*.

3. As an illustration of our views, it may be well to state the fact, that no Hindoo or Mahomedan can be compelled, nor is he ever in any way required by his superior officer, to attend on Christian Public Worship, or to take part in any rite of the Christian Religion.

* "That in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be entirely left to themselves;" and the British Government, and all classes of Christians, freed, consequently, from all connexion with them."

But it is not so with Christians. They may be, and are now required, at the will of their superior, even on the Sabbath, to attend idolatrous ceremonies. All that we seek is, that this shall no longer be; but that the Christian shall practically have the same scrupulous respect shown to his religious feelings, as that paid to the Mahomedan or the Hindoo;—that he shall never, therefore, be called upon by the Government, nor by any superior, to attend on Mahomedan or Hindoo Worship, nor to take part in any superstitious or idolatrous ceremony. We refer you to the Appendix A. and B. of the Memorial, for instances of the grievances of this character of which Christians have to complain.

4. Another point to which they desire to call your attention, is this—that there is not only no aggression nor restriction of the religious freedom of the Heathen or Mahomedan subjects of the State contemplated, but that all allegations of danger are utterly groundless; when the only thing sought is, that the Government and its Christian subjects shall not interfere with the religion of the people. We might on this point take our stand on the Court's Despatch alone; and ask, Whether it is in the nature of things, that the people should be offended by the non-interference of Christians with their religious rites? that disaffection should be the consequence of granting to all classes the fullest amount of religious freedom, by leaving them, as the Court's Despatch directs, "entirely to themselves"?

5. We might appeal, also, to past experience, as a full confutation of all objections raised on the pretext of danger. For if we look even to cases where the acts of Government have been positive aggressions on the superstitions and the religious prejudices of the people, disturbance and disaffection have never ensued. Lord Wellesley's wise and humane law, prohibiting Infanticide, at Saugor and other places, under the penalty of death—and Lord William Bentinck's enactment, which put an end to the Burning of Widows, a rite specially countenanced by the Hindoo Shasters—never created one moment's disquietude to the Government. And are we to suppose that these acts, and others of a similar character, shall be readily and peacefully acquiesced in by the people; and yet, that they will become disaffected and violent, when no interference whatever with their religion is either exercised, or for a moment contemplated?

6. As long residents in this country, and intimately acquainted with the people, several of the Memorialists can affirm, that there is not a shadow of truth, or of substance, in the objections raised. These objections not only put out of view the overruling providence of God, but all our past experience also; and are precisely of the

same quality and value as those which have been uniformly advanced againt every measure for the religious improvement of India. We have no hesitation therefore in saying, that the whole measure of relief for individuals sought by the Memorial may be immediately conceded; and all delay now, after a period of five years since the Court's Despatch was sent out, is as wholly uncalled for as it is unjust.

7. In confirmation of our opinion, we may notice here, that no disturbance has followed from the order* of the Madras Government prohibiting compulsory labour at the idol cars in this Presidency. This order has now been acted upon for nearly two years; and was forced upon the Government by the knowledge that this idolatrous rite was the source of the greatest oppression to the lower classes, and, at times, even of loss of life. At the date it was issued, the lives of ten persons had been sacrificed on one occasion at Conjeveram. (See Memorial, Appendix D.)

8. We may give, as another instance of the perfect ease with which the Orders of the Court of Directors of 1833 may be universally enforced, the fact, that the great day of the Dussorah Festival in October last, falling on the Sabbath Day, the British Resident at Nagpore, the seat of a Hindoo Government, dispensed with the customary attendance of the British forces †; and the festival was quietly celebrated by the Native Prince, and his Court, alone. In like manner, in 1833, the European Officers in the province of Tanjore, who are expected to be present with their establishments at the celebration of the Dussorah at that Court, omitted their attendance, and no dissatisfaction was ever expressed. It must indeed be obvious to the common sense of every Native, that he cannot look to the British Officer to sink his own religion, in deference to that of others; and he will readily acknowledge the propriety and reasonableness, therefore, of the Christian abstaining from a violation of his own religious feelings and duties, in order to do honour to the religion of others. It is of some importance, in this place, to advert to the circumstance, admitted by the Supreme Government itself, that in Bengal and Agra the Officers of the Government and the troops do not there attend on native religious festivals, and there is by no means the same measure of British connexion with idolatry as in this Presidency. If, then, this more limited measure is found perfectly safe and practicable in Northern India, it affords decisive evidence that there can be no real difficulty in adopting the

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* See Memorial, page 106 Note.

† See Appendix A. p. 76.

same course in this Presidency: for the religious feelings and prejudices of the people here are certainly not more, but less strong, than those of Bengal and Agra; as the greater readiness with which Madras Sepoys, of all castes of Hindoos, have always embarked on foreign service, affords sufficient proof.

9. We might add more on this head, but we think it unnecessary. The Authorities, whether in this country or at home, who do not feel strongly the evil and the sin of the present system, will always find, in imaginary dangers and difficulties, sufficient pleas for delay; and yourself, and others of our friends at home, may rest assured, notwithstanding the Court of Directors' explicit instructions in the able and unanswerable Despatch of 1833, that *nothing* will be done, till the Christian Public and the moral feeling of the Nation shall be roused, compelling the Court to enforce the execution of their own orders. In this opinion, as you will observe, we do not stand alone *.

10. There is but one other point we desire to notice—the injustice done to every public officer, as well as the people themselves, by denying or delaying the relief sought. No Servant of the Company knows, in the least degree, when he enters their Service in England, the duties he may be called upon to perform in India. If, as a Christian man, he conscientiously objects, either to do ought that may abet, or do honour to Idolatry or Mahomedanism, and requests from a British and Christian Government the respect for his religious feelings which is shown to others, it is denied to him; and he has the option left, of a violation of his conscience, or of disobedience, at the hazard of all his prospects in life. It is inequitable, also, that the Missionary should be permitted to prosecute his labours for the conversion of the people, and, at the same time, the Christian professor be refused that perfect liberty of conscience and protection, which, had he remained Heathen, he must have enjoyed. On the general policy of the question no remark appears to be necessary; the Court's Despatch of 1833 furnishes all that could be desired; and the concurrence of the public in India, or otherwise, in those views, as supposed to be shown by the smaller or larger number of signatures to the Memorial, in no way affects the question. Those who know India, know also how dependent nearly every man in it is on the Government for the time being; and will not be surprised that the majority are not found in opposition to its views. It may be right, however, to add, that signatures for the Memorial

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* See Note I. p. 127.

were not canvassed for: and that those of the members, even of a whole congregation, not immediately affected, were declined. It is also known to you, that a separate Memorial, with other signatures, was at the same time before the Madras Government.

11. I will now endeavour to put you in possession of the proceedings of the Government subsequent to and consequent on the Memorial; and to place fully before you the existing state of the question. The most important document which has yet transpired, is the official Answer of the Madras Government to the Memorial. It is dated the 27th April 1837; and is, in fact, a declaration of the views of the Supreme Government of India, from whom it emanated. It leaves us, as you will see, on a careful examination, nothing to hope. It commences (paragraph 2) by expressing regret that a Memorial of this description should have been presented; and then (paragraph 3) condemns it, as "couched in terms of reproach and contumely towards the religious belief and observances of other classes of the subjects of the State."

12. In paragraph 4, "the duty of maintaining the principle of a real toleration inviolate is fully and explicitly recognised;" but, by a strange anomaly, it is immediately added, that "the discontinuance, in any degree in which it may have prevailed, of the immediate and *compulsory interference* of the professors of one creed in the ceremonies and ministrations of another," *i.e.* the constrained attendance of Christians on idolatrous and Mahomedan rites, "should be effected only at the discretion of the Local Government:" thus leaving it open to the Local Government and its Officers to set aside the principle, and to compel Christians, at will, to a direct participation in any idolatrous act.

12. The admission is then made in paragraph 5, that "in the Bengal Presidency, his Lordship observes, a much less direct interference with Idolatry is generally exercised, than in the Madras Presidency": but instead of following this up by an order to assimilate the usages of the two Presidencies, and thus relieve the Madras Officers from the peculiar burden imposed upon them, it is declared in paragraph 7, that "his Lordship doubts not that the Madras Government will make it their aim to introduce every proper improvement"; and the whole question is left to the Local Government, just as it was sent up. And this, although, in the first part of the Governor-General's Letter, he had commented with displeasure on the spirit of the Madras Government's answer to the Bishop; and although one essential point—the repeal of Regulation VII. of 1817, under which the Officers of Revenue are compelled to superintend Hindoo temples and mosques—his Lordship knew, could be

effected by the Supreme Government *alone*, and not by the Local Government. The document concludes (paragraph 8) "with again expressing his Lordship's disapprobation of the conduct of the Public Officers who signed the Memorial;" and in effect, though not in express terms, denies all redress.—For this minute of the Supreme Government, see Note 2.

13. But little additional remark upon it is required. The charge of using reproachful language is, we may be allowed to say, without foundation; for the very terms of the Court's Despatch were those designedly used; and if the Memorial is censurable, it can only be so in common with that Despatch. But we would not rest the defence of the Memorialists, against this imputation, upon this ground alone: we take, with much reluctance, one of the latest instances published at Madras of the character of the Idolatry which the Government sanctions,*'and practically upholds:* and, offensive as the narration must be, we know not in what other way we can correctly place before you one part only of the evil of Hindoo Idolatry. We will then ask, not as Christians, but as men, whether any terms more mild, than debasing and degrading, could have been applied?

14. The following is the instance to which we refer: it is extracted from the Annual Report for 1837, of the Madras Auxiliary (London) Missionary Society, p. 28—the last published at Madras. —"In July 1837, Mr. Beynon, Missionary in Dharwar, visited, for a second time this year, *the Yellamma* * Jatra, and witnessed the most horrible and revolting scenes. The remark which a Native Christian, who was with him, made, in reference to them, was, 'Come, let us flee! this is Sodom and Gomorrah.' Among other disgusting spectacles, was that of males and females promiscuously and indiscriminately walking the distance of about a mile; some with girdles made of the branches of the neem or margosa, with their clothes loosely thrown over them; others with girdles without any clothes; and others in an entire state of nudity, which, together with their dishevelled hair, and bodies besmeared with a mixture of turmeric, gave them a most frightful appearance. In passing through the crowd, they received the same homage from the deluded spectators as Yellamma herself. When reasoning with them, and showing to them the debasing nature of their ceremonies, many appeared to feel; and many declared that they would not fulfil the vows they had taken upon them—some of swinging, others of going

* This goddess is of the same class as the Madras goddess; whose festival, less obscene, but equally dishonouring God, is provided for by a special grant from the Government. (See Memorial, Appendix B. p. 80.)

naked, &c. We are happy to say, that Government has relinquished the revenue which it derived from this festival; and it would be well if it had nothing to do with it. In consequence of some disagreement between the Poojaries, who are Soodras, and the Koolkurnees, who are Brahmins, about the apportioning of the fees, *Government has appointed four Brahmins, as a kind of trustees*, to collect and take charge of the offerings. The Poojaries are dissatisfied with the arrangement; and say that they have a claim to all, and receive nothing. The impression produced, in consequence, on the mind of the people, was, that the fees were collected by the authority of Government."

15. It would be easy to add further instances. Let the Authorities but call for a sketch of the figures and scenes on the external frieze of the pagodas, and other idolatrous edifices, now under the peculiar charge of their Officers. Let them call only for one of the figures, in alto relievo, on the cornice round the pediment of the roof of the temple at Singarayakonda, near Ramiahpatnam, in the Nellore Zillah. Those who have seen them, state, that it would be impossible to exhibit the sketch without revolting the feelings of every man not utterly abandoned. Let the Government also examine the report of their own Officers on the Thugs (fraternities of Murderers), and see whether that enormous crime is not intimately connected with, and fostered by, the reigning superstitions; and whether the object of their worship is not countenanced by the existing connexion of the Government with Idolatry *.

16. We need not put the question to you; but we may to those who uphold the present system, and propose indefinite delay in the

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* Extracts from the Official Report on "Thuggee."—There are Thugs at Jubulpoor, from all quarters of India. From Lodhiana to the Carnatick, from the Indus to the Ganges, some of them have been in the habit of holding what I may fairly call unreserved communication with European Gentlemen for more than twelve years; and yet there is not among them one who doubts the divine origin of the system of Thuggee—not one who doubts, that he, and all who have followed the trade of murder with the prescribed rites and observances, were acting under the immediate orders and auspices of the (Hindoo) Goddess Devee, Durga, Kalee, or Bhawanee, as she is indifferently called; and, consequently, there is not one who feels the slightest remorse for the murders which he may, in the course of his vocation, have perpetrated, or assisted in perpetrating. A Thug considers the persons murdered precisely in the light of victims offered up to the Goddess; and he remembers them as a priest of Jupiter remembered the oxen, and a priest of Saturn the children, sacrificed upon their altars. He meditates his murders without any misgivings; he perpetrates them without any emotions of pity; and he remembers them without any feelings of remorse. They trouble not his dreams; nor does their recollection ever cause him inquietude, in darkness, in solitude, or in the hour of death.

"The

execution of the Court's orders for dissolving the connexion of the Government, and its Christian Officers, with Hindoo Idolatry. Is it seemly, or consistent with any one principle of Christianity or of sound policy, that the British Government should lend its sanction, and its Public Officers be found regulating the fees, in such proceedings as those above detailed; or participating in any degree in the Idolatry which gives them birth? And can the Memorialists be justly charged "with contumely to the religious belief and observances" of other classes of the subjects of the State, by designating such observances debasing and degrading?

17. In addition to the practical refusal to grant any relief, contained in the answer of the Supreme Government to the Memorial, the Local Government, with the concurrence of the Government of India, has also given further proof of its intention to deny liberty of conscience to its Christian Servants, by removing from his office of Acting Principal Collector and Magistrate of Cuddapah, a public servant of acknowledged character and ability, of twenty-five years' standing, for declining to take any part, personally, in upholding Idolatry.

This Officer had, at his own request, been transferred, in 1835, from the Judicial Branch of the Service, where he held one of the highest appointments to the Revenue. His administration, as Acting Collector, was entirely acceptable to the people; and as a Magistrate, has been highly commended by his superiors: but having declined, on conscientious ground, to be a party to a deed by which he was to rent out, on behalf of Government, offerings to particular Idols—an act which appeared to him as plain a breach of the Second Commandment as a requisition to abet an unjustifiable

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"The Thugs, and, I understood, all other Hindûs, believe Kalee to have first appeared upon the earth in Calcutta. That place they consider to be her favourite seat, where she works more miracles than in all the rest of India. They have got a notion, that in Calcutta even the Christians attend her worship, and make offerings to her temple; and I believe the priests have always actually made offerings to her image, on great occasions, in the name of the Honourable Company, out of the rents of the land with which Government has endowed the temple. European Gentlemen and Ladies frequently attend. The nautches and feasts are part of the religious ceremonies. This innocent curiosity is very liable to be misconstrued by people at a distance from the scene; and should not therefore be indulged.

"The Hindoos have a verse, which they often repeat in their invocations—

'Kalee! Calcutta walee! may thy promise never be made in vain.'

She is said to delight in the name of Kunkalee, or Man-eater; and to be always drinking the blood of men and of demons."

[*Captain Sleeman's Official Report to the Supreme Government of India.*

attempt on the life of others would be a breach of the Sixth—he was removed, and ordered to rejoin his former post, under a censure from Government. This was done, whilst there had not been the slightest complaint on the part of the people – on the contrary, the renting out the Idol was unacceptable to them; and without the least impeachment of his known ability as an experienced Public Officer.

18. Marked as is this instance of the disregard shown by the Government to the religious feelings of their Christian Officers, their recent proceedings towards their Military Servants have been still more oppressive. In 1832, the Government called upon the Commander-in-Chief, to know whether employment could be found in the army for the orphan children brought up at the Government Military Asylum — an institution founded and supported by the Government, for the legitimate and illegitimate children of the European Soldiery. The plan of posting them to corps, as Drummers, was in consequence adopted; and a depôt formed at Wallajabad, near Madras, to qualify them for regimental duty.

19. These Youths are all of European parentage, on the father's side; and many of them Christians, on the side of both parents. They are educated at the Government Asylum, from childhood, as Christians, under the special charge of a Government Chaplain, by whom their religious instruction is most carefully attended to; and this care is further continued by the Presidency Chaplains, when they are transferred to the depôt. It was under these circumstances that the late Commander-in-Chief, Sir R. O'Callaghan, before sending them to join their corps, considered it right not to place them on a level with the low Indo-Portuguese and Native Heathen, who previously formed the bands of the Native Corps; and the drummers of this description were accordingly all drafted to other corps, and the lads from the depôt sent, in a distinct body, to their Regiments. Orders were also issued to Commanding Officers, to see that they attended Church, kept to their regimental duties only, and did not attend festivals with their instruments.

20. Under these orders, five regiments had been supplied with drummers from the depôt. The course prescribed had been acted upon without the least complaint, and had been in quiet and peaceful operation for some time; when, in the past year (1837), the present Commander-in-Chief at Madras was required, by the Local Government, not only to cancel his predecessor's orders, which protected the Christian Drummer, but also all former regulations affecting the attendance of the troops generally of this Presidency, on religious festivals – a practice unknown in the Bengal army. These Orders of the Supreme Government are as follows:—

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation, 12th September 1837.

" Read the following Letter from the Secretary to the Government of India—here enter 5th June, 1837.

" The Right Honourable the Governor General of India, in Council, having approved of and adopted the Resolution passed on the 25th of March last, in modification of the Extract No. 766 from the Minutes of Consultation dated the 4th of that month, to be furnished to Officers commanding Divisions and Forces, explanatory of the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief, 26th July, 1836.*

" The Governor in Council is pleased, in obedience to those instructions, to direct that any previous decisions or orders, which are in any degree at variance with the spirit of that Resolution, shall, without being formally cancelled, be allowed to fall gradually into desuetude: and as the attendance of troops at popular festivals, and on Natives of rank, as honorary guards, is a usage of long standing under this Presidency, the indulgence is not to be withheld, except under permission from the Government; even when the Native, to whom the complimentary observance is paid, may be proceeding to the performance of religious duties.

" In conformity with those instructions, Christian Drummers are not to be compelled to be present at the religious festivals of the native soldiers, except when strictly on duty with their company or corps under arms. No compulsory attendance is to be exacted, when it may be construed into adding to the pageant. On the other hand, *the voluntary attendance of drummers or musicians*, on such occasions, is not to be interdicted, when they are willing of themselves in this mode to show a mark of good-will to their Sepoy brethren; and on these occasions they are to be allowed the use of their instruments, under such conditions and precautions as may be deemed proper.—The Governor in Council further directs, that should any question hereafter arise as to the meaning of the terms 'ordinary popular festivals,' it shall be reserved for the decision of Government. As observed above, the attendance of troops is not to be withheld on account of the nature of the festival: it will, however, be the duty of Officers commanding stations and corps, on every occasion to enforce the rule, that troops under arms employed at festivals, and not as

* The Commander-in-Chief directs it to be strictly observed, as a "Standing Regulation of the Service, that whenever the attendance of troops, either European or Native, may be necessary at any native festival, or similar occasion, the troops so employed are invariably to be kept in a collected body, as a military guard, for the maintenance of order; and are not, on any account, to be permitted to join or take part in the procession or ceremony, nor to act as escorts, either to persons or property."

honorary escorts to individuals of rank, are to be kept in a collected body, prepared to act for the preservation of the peace.

"The Governor General in Council has also expressed his opinion, that, without a formal revocation of the Circular Letter issued by order of Sir Robert O'Callaghan, prohibiting the attendance at native festivals of drummers educated at the Wallajabad depôt, the prohibition should in future be discontinued; and the Officers commanding the five regiments to which drummers from that establishment have already been posted, should, without recalling attention to the subject by any public announcement, be instructed, as suitable occasions may offer, to abstain from a rigid enforcement of the prohibitory order; and thus gradually assimilate the practice in those five regiments to that which generally obtains in the rest of the army.

"(A true extract)

"(Signed) MILITARY SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT."

21. The practical effect of these Orders is, to deprive every Christian in the army of all religious freedom. The following extract, the authenticity of which is unquestionable, from a communication received from an Officer of a Native Regiment, who would be no party to the Memorial, will explain to you the manner in which the Government Order acts:—"Our Drummers," the writer remarks, in a Letter of the 14th of November last (1837), "refused to attend the Dussorah; and being Acting Adjutant at the time, I placed, by order of the Lieutenant Colonel, twelve in the guard; where they remained, *until they were willing to go;* when they were let out, and sent to the next procession."—Thus easy is it for Commanding Officers not to compel, but—as the order of the Supreme Government expresses it—to make Christians willing of themselves to show these marks of good-will to their Sepoy brethren—to become, in fact, Idolaters and Mahomedans by turns: and while the Heathen and the Mahomedan is justly permitted scrupulously to respect his religion, the Christian is to be induced, or compelled by a British Government, to disregard his own pure and holy faith; and to treat the command of his God, 'to have no fellowship with Idols,' as an empty sound.

22. We shall now close this statement, by giving two recent instances of the manner in which Christianity is at this hour disparaged, and the superstitions of the people upheld by the Government. On the celebration of the Mohurrem Festival at Cuddalore, in 1836, the procession was so purposely noisy, on passing near the Church, on Sunday, while Service was performing, that it was necessary to break up the Service, notwithstanding that it had been previously officially signified to the chief persons concerned, that

they should not pass the Church during the hours of Service.—On the recurrence of the same festival, a few months back, the Chaplain, to avoid a similar interruption, wrote to the Magistrate, to take measures to prevent it. The necessary measures were accordingly taken; the Magistrate proclaiming, that no procession with noise would be allowed near the Church, between the hours of half-past ten and half-past twelve; but that before and after these hours the passage was free; and the Officer in command was requested to direct the nearest guard to prevent the procession passing down the street during the hours of public worship. The Native Officers of Police, it appeared, to prevent all noise, placed, at the same time, the ordinary village musicians under restraint. The Mahomedans—construing this act, apparently, as intended to prevent their having any procession—petitioned the Government on the subject, and a hasty and exaggerated representation of excitement was transmitted by the Officer commanding the Station. The Magistrate heard nothing of this, till he received instructions from Government, greatly to the amazement of the whole population, to cancel his proclamation; and directing the dismissal of the two Native Officers, the Tahsildar, and Cutwal of the Town: whilst the Chaplain, it was observed, in this order, must in future be left to arrange with the Magistrate for the quiet performance of Divine Service, in conjunction with the Mahomedan Priest.—The Minute of Government is dated the 5th of June last. (See No. 3.)

23. The second instance referred to, occurred at Trichinopoly. The Officer in command of that station, Colonel Fane, of H. M. 54th Regiment, was applied to for a body of troops, for the Mahomedan Festival noticed in the 5th and 7th page of the Memorial, Appendix A. Sir R. O'Callagan's order, directing the employment of the troops only for the preservation of the peace, was then unrepealed; and Colonel Fane having satisfied himself that the procession and the whole ceremony was purely religious, and that the troops were not required to preserve the peace, declined issuing orders for their attendance. Nothing occurred at the festival to make it necessary for the Government to interfere; but on a representation from the Nabob at Madras, they called for information: and notwithstanding it was before them distinctly, that the ceremony was wholly a religious one, and they had the proof, from the quiet with which it had always passed off, that the non-attendance of the troops could lead to no injurious consequence, the former practice was ordered to be revived; and the Europeans now, by express orders of Government, form an annual part of the pageantry of twelve Mahomedan religious observances; for which

the European Troops are required to be out, alike on the Sabbath as on other days. (See Note 4.)

24. This abstract of the proceedings of the Government here during the last eighteen months, combined with the fact, that the practices noticed in the Memorial remain in full force, will give you a view of our present position. But you must add the consideration, that the Local Government has now the support of the Government of India, and the sanction of the Home Authorities. You will clearly see, therefore, how entirely the progress of this question depends on the Christian Public in Britain.

P. S.—Since this Letter was written, the Orders of the Court of Directors, on the Madras and the Bombay (see Note 6) Memorials have been received: they are as follow, under date the 18th of October last.

PUBLIC DEPARTMENT.

Extract from a Revenue Letter from the Honourable the Court of Directors, to the Governor-General of India in Council, No. 14; *dated* 18*th October* 1837.

Par. 8. "8. We now desire that no customary salutes or marks of respect to Native Festivals be discontinued at any of the Presidencies—that no protection hitherto given be withdrawn—and that no change whatever be made in any matters relating to the native religion, except under the authority of the Supreme Government."

No. 406.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation of Government of Fort St. George, 6*th March,* 1838.

"Ordered, that a copy of par. 8. be furnished to the Venerable the Archdeacon of Madras, in reference to the Memorial received from the Lord Bishop, praying that all interference on the part of Government, or its Civil and Military Officers, in the religious ceremonies of the Natives, may be discontinued.

"(A true extract)

"(Signed) ***** *Secretary to Government.*"

"*To the Ven. the Archdeacon of Madras.*"

It is not necessary to offer any remark upon this order: it must speak for itself. It follows out the Orders of the Supreme Government on the Memorial, denying, or delaying indefinitely, all relief; and, as contrasted with the Instructions in the Despatch of 1833, must demonstrate to you, that it is the public voice alone, and the

authority of Parliament, whose aid must be sought to carry those wise and statesman-like instructions into effect.

NOTE 1.

" *Connexion of the British Government, with the Idolatry of India.*

" This question, so deeply involving the honour of the moral character of Britain, appears, from recent occurrences, to be placed on an entirely new footing. Report states, through our contemporary, 'The Friend of India,' that the highest authority has declared, 'that so long as the public purse can be replenished with an annual income of two lakhs of Rupees from this idolatrous source, it shall not be abandoned, especially at the request of a few fanatics.' We may say, without the slightest approach to dictation, that such expressions are not those that should fall from the lips of any Public Functionary: they are not calculated to conciliate what it should be the object of every Official character to obtain—the good wishes and fervent support of all subject to his influence. We hope it is not true; but if so, it was an impolitic disclosure. We had supposed, that the tardiness in carrying into effect the Orders, the reiterated Public Orders, of the Court of Directors on this subject arose from an extreme sensitiveness on the part of the Local Government in reference to the religious prejudices of the people of India: but, meagre and unsatisfactory as was this supposition, we are now robbed of it: religious deference for the superstitious abominations of Hinduism has given place to the love of gain. Although somewhat sceptical on the matter, we had been almost induced, by the laboured efforts of some Anglicized Hindu advocates of the connexion, to prove that it was a dead loss to the Company's exchequer, to believe that no such sordid motive could actuate our Rulers: but no, it is a gain; and we have now the strange anomaly of a Christian Government, composed of liberal politicians, calmly and deliberately avowing, that if their coffers can but be replenished by the offerings of poor miserable Idolaters, they will heed the voice neither of Humanity, Reason, nor Religion! We never for a moment doubted that the Public Orders of the Court on this subject were accompanied by private instructions, which would materially interfere with the fulfilment of the wishes of the People of England: we imagined that the spirit of the despatches would lose somewhat of its energy, in passing over the wide waste of waters; but we never did anticipate the revelation of such a motive, for the continuance of a practice so degrading.

" We suspect that we form a section of the handful of fanatics, to whom reference is made: and if so, we have only to exhort the rest of the handful in India, to unite with the dwarfish multitude at Home, to exert the same energetic, persevering, and peaceful means for the accomplish-

ment of this object, which they employed for the overthrow of Slavery and the Slave Trade;—in fact, to do their own work."

[*Calcutta Christian Observer for Feb.* 1838, pp. 97, 98.

NOTE 2.

No. 629—" FORT ST. GEORGE, 25th April 1837.

" *Public Dept. Par* 1.

" SIR The Memorial laid before the Government of Fort St. George, by the late Bishop of Madras, and signed by most of the ecclesiastical, and several of the Civil and Military Servants of this Presidency, pointing out certain observances connected with the religions of the Country—in which the Memorialists deem it a grievance to be compelled or expected to assist, and praying to be exempted from such obligations having been submitted to the Governor-General of India in Council, his Lordship, in Council, has communicated to this Government his sentiments respecting it.

" 2 He has remarked, that this Government has expressed its displeasure in strong terms, at the tenour of the Memorial in question, and the manner of its preparation; and that he fully participates in the feeling of the regret that a Memorial of this description should have been presented. But as the whole subject was referred for the consideration and orders of the Supreme Government, it might have been well, his Lordship in Council adds, to refrain from issuing the severe censure upon the late lamented Bishop of Madras, contained in a Letter from this office of the 10th of October; especially as the part taken by the Bishop appears to have been merely that of forwarding the Address, with a declaration of his sentiments on the subject of it, after the matter had been agitated, and the document prepared entirely through the agency of others.

" 3. On the subject matter of the Memorial, his Lordship in Council has observed, that he has been much concerned to receive from any class of the Public Servants a representation praying for religious toleration, yet couched in terms of reproach and contumely towards the religious belief and observances of other classes of the subjects of the State.

" 4. His Lordship in Council observes, that it will ever be the study of the several Governments of India to follow the course which may appear to them best calculated to allay dissatisfaction, as well as to mitigate the jealousies and animosities of different sects, and to protect them in the exercise of their religious rights; but sudden changes of custom, or the discontinuance of observances of long usage, are calculated to excite jealousy, through a misapprehension of motives, so as to make that course one of very questionable policy.

" 5. It is primarily, in the judgment of the Governor-General in

Council, indispensable that all classes of the subjects of the Government should be confirmed in the just assurance, that, in the exercise of their several religions, a real toleration, and perfect protection, will invariably be extended to them. While, however, this principle is inviolably maintained, it is conformable to the instructions of the Honourable Court of Directors, and to the wish of his Lordship in Council, that, as an ultimate aim, to be sought in the unforced discretion of the Local Governments, and in spite of the most guarded prudence and justice, the discontinuance, in any degree in which it may have prevailed, of the immediate and compulsory interference of the professors of one creed in the ceremonies and ministrations of another, should be effected.

"6. Under the Bengal Presidency, his Lordship in Council observes, a much less direct interference is generally exercised in the management of temples and religious endowments than is the practice under the Madras Presidency: ordinarily, only such a general superintendence is exercised over the administration of such endowments as may satisfy the European Officers that the Superintendants in charge adequately fulfil their trusts. To these Native Superintendants, with but few exceptions, are left the details of management, under legal responsibility (as in all other trusts) in the event of abuse: and such, it will doubtless be admitted, is the most proper and expedient course, while the principle of providing by law against the fraudulent execution of all trusts is firmly asserted and upheld."

"7. His Lordship in Council doubts not that the Government of Fort St. George will make it their aim to introduce every proper improvement in the usages of the Madras Presidency, as well in respect to the ceremonial observances referred to, as to the avoidance of interference with the details of worship, when Hindoo temples or Mahomedan endowments may fall under the protection and superintendence of Government Officers: but his Lordship in Council would not desire to influence the discretion of the Local Government in determining the time or mode of proceeding to be adopted for the attainment of any of these objects.

"8. His Lordship in Council has not been a little disappointed, to see so many of the Public Officers in the Madras Presidency mixed up in a course of proceedings calculated to disturb the mutual charity and good-will which it should be their endeavour to foster and encourage between all classes of the community, and to embarrass the Government upon a grave question of policy; in respect to which its course ought ever to be independent, and guided by a spirit of scrupulous caution and studious regard for the rights, customs, and opinion of all its subjects.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient humble servant,

"SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT."

"*To the Venerable the Archdeacon of Madras.*"

Note 3.

Extract from the Minutes of Consultation—Judicial Department, 5th June 1837.

" 1. The Right Honourable the Governor in Council regrets any thing should have occurred on the celebration of the late Mohurrem at Cuddalore, by which any Servants of the Government may have appeared to interfere with the free exercise of the religious rites of the Natives.

" When the celebration of festivals of different religions fall upon the same day, the Civil Magistrate should endeavour, by previous arrangements made with the mutual consent of the parties interested, to prevent any thing like collision or misunderstanding. (That is, in other terms, it is the duty of the Magistrate to view the Service of the Sabbath in precisely the same light as the celebration of any other religious festival in the country; and to require the Chaplain to enter into some mutual arrangement, whereby the performance, or otherwise, of the ordinary Christian Worship on the Sabbath Day, within the precincts of his own Church, must depend on the good-will of the Mahomedan Priest, or other parties interested.)

" 3. Had this course been pursued in the present instance, there can be no doubt that the respectable Mussulmans would have gladly acquiesced in a proposition from the Magistrate to prevent a recurrence of the disturbance of the Worship of the Missionary Chapel, which occurred from the Mohurrem Procession in 1836; while the angry feelings which, on the present occasion, have been called forth by the arbitrary and highly improper conduct of the Tahsildar and Cutwal, would have given place to those of mutual good-will, harmony, and confidence.

" (Signed) Chief Secretary." *

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* " It must be borne in mind, with reference to the last portion of this order, that the building designated 'the Missionary Chapel' is also the Government Church; the Chaplain having regularly officiated there for years past;—that the course pointed out had been tried in vain the previous year;—and that the most respectable Mussulmans disapprove of, and take no part in, these processions, on the celebration of Mahomedan Festivals; but only the lower rabble, to whom they furnish an occasion for debauchery and drunkenness;—and further, that a simple Address from Government, pointing out that the Mahomedans had full liberty to make their procession at any time, but during the short period occupied on a Sunday by the Service at the Church, would have given ample satisfaction."

Note 4.

Statement of the several Annual Processions at Mahomedan Festivals and Religious Observances at Trichinopoly expressly ordered by Government.

Nature of the Processions.	Periods at which the processions are to take place.	Remarks.
Procession of the Rumzan Festival	1st of Shawal	Royal salute, and an honorary escort.
Ditto of the Buckreed Festival	10th of Zehiyja . . .	Royal salute, and an honorary escort.
Ditto of the Anniversary of Huzrut Nuther Vallee Sahib, a Mahomedan Saint .	14th of Ramzairn . .	An honorary escort.
Ditto of the Anniversary of Wallajah Nabob, deceased in 1795	29th of Rubee Oul . .	Ditto.
Do. do. of the Mahl of Wallajah	15th of Jomadee Oul .	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Omdut Omrah Nabob, deceased in 1801 .	3d of Rubee Oul . . .	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Ameer ul Omrah, deceased	24th of Mohurrum . .	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of the Mahl of Ameer ul Omrah	3d of Zehiyja	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Hissaw ul Moolk	7th of Shuba	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Naseer ul Moolk	15th of ditto	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of Molekoon Nissa Begum, daughter of Wallajah	29th of Suffer	Ditto.
Ditto ditto of the Mahil of Hissaw ul Moolk	16th of Shaban . . .	Ditto.

Note 5.

Further Extracts from the Official Report on Thuggee.

"5. The Thug Associations, which we are now engaged in suppressing, have been taught, by those whom they revere as the expounders of the will of their deity, that the murders they perpetrate are pleasing to her, provided they are perpetrated under certain restrictions, attended by certain observances, and preceded and followed by certain rites, sacrifices, and offerings. The deity who, according to their belief, guides and protects them, is ever manifesting her will by signs; and as long as they understand and observe these signs, they all consider themselves as acting in conformity to her will, and, consequently, fulfilling her wishes: and they consider these signs to be available, if sought after in a pure spirit of faith, and with the prescribed observances: and as long as they are satisfied that they are truly interpreted and faithfully obeyed, they never feel any dread of punishment, either in this world or the next."—Page 1, *Preface.*

EXAMINATION OF THUGS.

"*Q.* How can you murder old men and young children, without some emotions of pity—calmly and deliberately as they sit with you, and converse with you, and tell you of their private affairs, of their hopes and fears, and of the wives and children they are going to meet, after years of absence, toil, and suffering?

"*A.* From the time that the omens have been favourable, we consider them as victims thrown into our hands by the deity to be killed, and that we are the mere instrument in her hands to destroy them: that if we do not kill them, she will never be again propitious to us, and we and our families will be involved in misery and want.

"*Q.* And you can sleep as soundly by the bodies or over the graves of those you have murdered, and eat your meals with as much appetite as ever?

"*A.* Sahib, just the same: we sleep and eat just the same, unless we are afraid of being discovered.

"*Q.* And when you see or hear a bad omen, you think it is the order of the deity not to kill the travellers you have with you, or are in pursuit of?

"*A.* Sahib, yes: it is the order not to kill them, and we dare not disobey.

"*Q.* When you have a poor traveller with you, or a party of travellers who appear to have little property about them, and you hear or see a very good omen, do you not let them go, in the hope that the virtue of the omen will guide you to better prey?

"*A.* Dorgha Musulan! Let them go! Never, never! kubhee nuheen, kubhee nuheen! Nasir Musulman of Tilingana, how could we let them go? Is not the good omen the order from Heaven to kill them? and would it not be disobedience to let them go? If we did not kill them, should we ever get any more travellers?"

[*Capt.* W. H. SLEEMAN's *Official Report to the Supreme Government,* 1836.

NOTE 6.

"BOMBAY MEMORIAL.

"*To the Right Honourable Sir Robert Grant, G. C. H. Governor in Council of Bombay.*

"Right Honourable Sir—We the undersigned Ministers of the Gospel, and members of different Christian Denominations, beg leave most respectfully to memorialize your Excellency in Council, with reference to this Presidency, on the position in which the British Power in India has for many years stood with regard to the idolatries and superstitions of its native subjects; and with regard to the requisitions of an unscriptural nature, which, in certain cases, are made from its Christian Officers, both Civil and Military. We fear that this position is one which, in many respects, is calculated to provoke the indignation of that God who has given our nation the sovereignty over this great people—is contrary to the fundamental principles of religious toleration—is calculated to degrade the European character in the eyes of the Natives—is opposed to the benevolent wishes of our native country for the introduction

amongst them of useful knowledge, and for their religious and moral improvement, as expressed in Act 53, Geo. III. c. 155; and is contrary to the views of the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, as expressed in their Despatch to the Supreme Government of India, dated the 20th February 1833, in which it is required, that, 'in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, and their ceremonial observances, our native subjects be left entirely to themselves.'

"The countenance and support extended to idolatry and superstition, and the violation of the principles of toleration to which we refer, consist principally in the following particulars:—

"1. In the employment of Brahmans and others, for the purpose of making heathen invocations for rain and fair weather.

"2. In the inscription of Shri on public documents, and the dedication of the Government Records to Ganesha and other false gods.

"3. In the entertainment in the Courts of Justice of questions of a purely idolatrous nature, where no civil right depends on them.

"4. In the degradation of certain castes, by excluding them from particular offices and benefits connected with religion.

"5. In the attendance of the Servants of Government, Civil and Military, in their official capacity, at Hindoo and Mahomedan Festivals, with a view to participate in their rites and ceremonies, or in the joining of troops, and the use of regimental bands, in the processions of Heathen and Mahomedan Festivals, or in their attendance in any other capacity than that of a police for the preservation of the peace.

"6. In the firing of salutes by the troops, or by the vessels of the India Navy, in intimation and honour of Heathen Festivals, and Mahomedan Feasts.

"We know, that, in the particular instances above enumerated, the consciences of many of the Servants of Government have been wounded, and their minds harassed, by the part which they have been required, by the Regulations of Government or by the usage of the Service, to take: we therefore most respectfully solicit, that inquiry may be instituted, by your Excellency in Council, into the topic to which we have adverted. We would further suggest, that the following particulars also ought to be included in the inquiry; as it may often be found, that where only justice or charity was intended, an unnecessary and criminal support to native superstition has been, or is liable to be, afforded in matters coming under these heads.

"1. The support given to Hindoo Temples, to Mosques, and Tombs, either by the granting endowments, pensions, or immunities, or by the collection and distribution by the Officers of Government of the revenues already appropriated to them.

"2. The granting of allowances and gifts to Brahmans and other persons, because of their connexion with the Heathen and Mahomedan Priesthood.

"3. The present mode of administering oaths in the Native Courts of Justice; and whether it be such as is proper for a Christian Government to allow and sanction.

"The endowment and support of Colleges and Schools, for the inculcating of Heathen and Mahomedan doctrines and practices.

"We would entreat the provision of such remedial measures as your wisdom may suggest: for it is justly observed in the Honourable Court's Despatch, to which we have already referred, "that arrangements which implicate the Government, whether in a greater or less degree, in the local superstitions of the Natives, might well be objected to in point of principle, even without reference to their actual consequences; but that they also tend to consequences of an injurious kind, is evident, inasmuch as they exhibit the British Power in such intimate connexion with the unhappy and debasing superstitions in question, as almost necessarily to inspire the people with the belief that we admit the divine origin of these superstitions, or at least that we ascribe to them some peculiar and venerable authority."

The zeal which your Excellency's Government evinces for the general welfare of the Natives encourages us to hope that our earnest representation will meet with the most favourable consideration: and praying that God may direct you in all your deliberations, we remain,

"Right Honourable Sir,

"Your most obedient and very humble servant,

"(Signed) The Venerable Archdeacon Carr,

"*Now Bishop of Bombay, &c. &c. &c.*

APPENDIX IV.

ORDERS OF LIEUT.-GEN. SIR ROBERT O'CALLAGHAN, AND LIEUT.-GEN. SIR P. MAITLAND, COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF AT MADRAS, RELATIVE TO THE DISCONTINUANCE OF THE ATTENDACE OF TROOPS AT RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS.

No. I.

" *To the Secretary of the Government Military Department.*

" SIR—The Officer commanding the 40th Regiment has reported the death of Private Gungodem, of that corps, under the following circumstances:—

" 2. At the requisition of the Civil Authorities, a detachment was ordered to Conjeveram, on the 23d of May, for the purpose of attending at a Native Festival.

" 3. On the night of the 31st, a procession took place, in which the deceased private was employed as an escort to two women carrying bundles of rockets. The rockets accidentally exploded, killing the two women, and so severely wounding the private, that, after suffering the amputation of the limb, he died on the 6th instant.

" 4. As the man met his death while in execution of his duty, the Commander-in-Chief considers that his family have a claim to pension; and recommends that authority may be granted for assembling a Committee, to ascertain the nearest heir.

" 5. At the same time, the Commander-in-Chief desires to bring to the notice of Government the impropriety of employing the troops upon such duties as they appear to have been engaged in on this occasion.

" 6. The presence of the detachment was supposed to be required for the maintenance of the public peace, during the celebration of the Festival: and to this, as falling properly within their duty, there could, of course, be no objection.

" 7. It would seem, however, that the men *formed part of the procession, rather as honorary attendants—a practice which the Commander-in-Chief considers, in every point of view, decidedly objectionable.*

" 8. If required for the preservation of order, the troops ought, obviously, to be kept in a collected state, under proper command; and not mixed up promiscuously with the tumultuous assemblage of a procession. It is also plainly desirable that the men should not be exposed to risk, by bringing their pouches in unnecessary contact with the disorderly discharges of fireworks, which generally accompany such processions.

" 9. Had the deceased private been employed upon his proper duty

as a soldier, he would, in all probability, have escaped the lamentable catastrophe now reported.

"10. *If required merely to do honour to the occasion*, or escort the coolies carrying rockets, *the Commander-in-Chief must strongly recommend that the attendance of the troops may, in future, be dispensed with. It is not necessary; and various reasons, both of military discipline and of general policy, concur to make it unadvisable.*

"(Signed) T. H. S. Conway,
"*Adjutant-General of the Army.*

"*Adjutant-General's Office,*
"*Fort St. George, June* 16, 1836."

No. II.

"The Governor in Council observes, that the employment of native troops, on occasions similar to that on which the accident occurred, which caused the death of the Private Gungodem, of the 40th regiment N. I., should be rigidly restricted to such military duties as they have hitherto been called upon to perform.

"Ordered, further, that a copy of the above Letter, and extract from the Minutes of Consultation thereon, be furnished to the Revenue Department, for communication generally to the Civil Authorities.

(True Extract and Copy)
"(Signed) J. W. Steel, Lieut.-Col.
"*Secretary to Government.*"

No. III.

"GENERAL ORDER, BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, SIR R. O'CALLAGHAN.

"*Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, July* 26, 1836.

"The Commander-in-Chief directs it to be strictly observed, as a standing regulation of the Service, that whenever the attendance of troops, either European or Native, may be necessary, at any native festival or similar occasion, the troops so employed are invariably to be kept in a collected body, as a military guard, for the maintenance of order; *and are not, on any account, to be permitted to join, or take part in, the procession or ceremony; nor to act as escorts, either to persons or property.*"

No. 5294. Circular.

"*To the Officers commanding Divisions and Forces.*

"Sir — The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Peregrine Maitland, has directed me to call your attention to the General Order of the 26th of July last, relative to the attendance of the troops on occasions of Native Festivals.

"2. It is the Commander-in-Chief's desire, that the spirit of that Order may be fully acted up to; so that the troops may not, at any time, be required to be present on such occasions, except when it may be deemed expedient for the preservation of order.

"3. Drummers and Bands can never be required for this purpose; and, consequently, as the surest means of obviating any evil which might ensue, were it left optional with them to attend or not, their employment on such occasions is prohibited; and the practice, in which they have been allowed in some corps to indulge, of going the rounds of a cantonment with music, on certain holidays, and of attending with their instruments at any place of worship, except when required for the Service of the Established Church, in the absence of organ or church-music, are to be discontinued.

"4. It is further directed, in accordance with the General Order above referred to, and with advertence also to G. O. C. C., Jan. 12, 1829, that neither colours nor arms shall be taken from the Barracks for any but the purposes of military duty.

"5. The Commander-in-Chief requests that you will cause these instructions to be strictly observed throughout your command.

"6. It is not intended that the above Orders should prevent compliance with any requisition on the part of Government or other superior authority, which must, of course, be attended to;—a report being made to Head-quarters whenever any such requisition may have been made, militating against the spirit of the present instructions.

"I have the honour, &c. &c.

"(Signed) T. H. S. Conway,

Adj.-Gen. of the Army.

"*Adjutant-General's Office,*

"*Fort St. George, Dec.* 6, 1836."

No. IV.

ATTENDANCE OF THE TROOPS AT THE PRESIDENCY OF BOMBAY, AT RELIGIOUS FESTIVALS.

At several stations, it has been customary to allow guards to Mahomedan and Hindoo Festivals. I send you the following Extract from the Brigade Orders, issued at Baroda, upon this subject.

"*Thursday, Sept.* 22, 1836.

"1. The undermentioned details, with the whole of the drummers and fifers of each regiment (excepting those required for the main-guard and quarter-guards of regiments), to be in readiness to fall in on the general parade, in full dress, at ten o'clock to-morrow morning; whence they will proceed, under command of the Adjutant, 20th Reg. N. I. to the palace of his Highness the Guickwar.

"2. The party will afterwards accompany his Highness, proceeding to Bheemnath, for the purpose of depositing Gunputtie [!!!].

"3. Each man to be furnished with forty rounds of blank ammunition: previous to which all ball-cartridges are to be removed from their pouches. (The party consisted of 8 native officers, 18 havildars, 18 naigues, and 400 privates.)

"4. The artillery will furnish the usual details—three six-pounders, with cartridges sufficient to fire the customary salutes at the bridge, on the occasion of his Highness passing and returning by the same.

"5. An inlying picquet, of five men per company from each regiment of N.I., to remain ready for duty, during the absence of the *gunputtie* party, to-morrow.

"*Tuesday, Oct.* 18, 1836.

"1. At the requisition of the First Assistant Political Commissioner in charge, a party of 300 rank and file, with colours, and a proportion of European and Native Commissioned and Non-commissioned officers, drums, and fifes, from the 24th Regiment N.I., under the command of Major Bailie, will hold themselves in readiness to proceed, in their full dress, to the town, at half-past two o'clock, *to take part* [*! !*] *in the Dussorah procession.* Twenty-four rounds of blank cartridge to be furnished to each man.

"A detail of artillery, with three six-pounders, and nineteen rounds of blank ammunition for each gun, to accompany the party.

"The Officer commanding the artillery will be careful to observe that the guns under his command do not commence firing the salute until after the first gun of his Highness the Guickwar shall have been fired off"—[in other words, until the ceremony shall have been completed, in the severing the head of the buffalo which is offered up on these occasions.]

NOTES.

"The principal festivals for which guards are granted under the Bombay Presidency, are, the Mohurrem, Great Eed, Gunesh Chatoon, the Dussorah, &c. The guards on these occasions are commonly granted for the avowed purpose of preserving the peace (which during the Mohurrem Procession &c. is endangered), or as an honorary escort to some great personage; but sometimes, as in the Baroda case above, this pretext is not assigned, and the thing stands out in its naked deformity.

"These guards are composed indiscriminately, without reference to the caste or sect of the Sepoys.

"The drummers and fifers are also sometimes required to attend, as

at Baroda above: at Kaludgee also. The other day, the Rev. D. Wilson, and Dr. Smyttan, found it so.

"Blank cartridges are also sometimes issued. Much, however, depends upon the will of the Commanding Officer. I do not believe there is any General Order authorising those things; but Commanding Officers of Stations and Regiments, forgetful of their highest duty as Christians, have conformed to these customs, more from a desire to please their Sepoys, than from a sense of subjection to superior authority.

"Salutes are fired, at several military stations, in honour of Native Festivals, at Poona, Baroda, Surat, and, I believe, Sattarah; probably, also, at some others. At Surat, a salute is fired from the castle for every *new moon* (a custom kept up in compliance with the Nawab's wishes—if indeed he cares at all about it)."

LETTERS OF THE FRENCH ROMAN-CATHOLIC PRIEST, IN MYSORE.

"*A Monsieur le Commandant de la Division de Myssore.*

"MONSIEUR LE GÉNÉRAL—Il se passe à *French Rocks* une chose dont les Chrêtiens croient pouvoir se plaindre, et que je me crois obligé de vous communiquer; c'est qu'on force les tambours catholiques à s'employer aux fêtes payennes, ce qui répugne à leur conscience.

"J'avais ci devant supplié de vive voix Monsieur le Colonel Dalgairus, d'empêcher qu'on forçat les catholiques à agir contre leur conscience. M. Dalgairus me répondit entre autres choses qu'on ne les y forçait probablement pas, mais qu'on les envoyait parcequ'ils paraissaient y aller volontiers. Je communiquai dès lors cette réponse aux tambours et aux musiciens, en les assurant que s'ils manifestaient leur opinion, leurs chefs ne les enverraient pas de force.

"Craignant ensuite qu'on ne les forçât ou maltraitât à ce sujet pendant l'absence de M. Dalgairus je lui en écrivis à Benglore; le suppliant en même temps de profiter de son séjour dans cet endroit pour connaître la conduite tenue sur ce sujet à l'égard des régimens qui y étaient stationés, et afin que lui même aussi engageât son propre régiment à se soumettre à la même discipline. M. Dalgairus ne m' honora pas d'une réponse; mais j'appris par une voie que me paraissait sûre, qu'après la réception de ma lettre, il s'etait formellement prononcé pour ne pas forcer les tambours à participer aux cérémonies du paganisme, cependant les tambours du 19ème régiment ont reçu ordre de marcher à la fête que célèbrent les payens ces jours ci. Le tambour-major et le principal musicien y sont à la tête des tambours d'autres religions; pour les autres tambours catholiques, au nombre de huit ou neuf, *ils sont aux arrêts, punis journellement, et nous ne savons ce que deviendra cette affaire—les pauvres gens souffrent avec patience et résignation, et leur plus grande peine*

c'est de ne pouvoir concilier les ordres de leurs officiers avec les commandemens de Dieu, et d'encourir l'indignation de ceux pour qu' ils donneront volontiers leur vie en toute autre occasion—cependant il est *à craindre que les Payens ou les Turcs se voyant ouvertement soutenus par les officiers ne profitent de l'occasion présente pour occasionner des troubles, dont on ne manquera pas de rejeter tout le tort sur les Chrétiens.* Ce que j'ai vu moi-même sur les lieux lorsque j'y'étais me porte à concevoir de pareilles craintes ; un officier respectable et dont j'aime à suivre les sages conseils, me fait observer que j'ai trop tardé à recourir à vous au sujet de cette difficulté ; mais ce retard vient de mon ignorance, ou de ma timidité en pareils embarras, et aussi de ce que j'ai été dupe de la foiblesse de Monsieur le Colonel Dalgairus. Je crois devoir vous transmettre sa réponse en vous suppliant Monsieur le Général, de vouloir bien examiner cette affaire.

" Entre autres inexactitudes M. Dalgairus ne s'exprime pas justement en écrivant que j'ai donné des ordres à ses tambours. Un pauvre prêtre denué de toute autorité et de tous secours humains, conduisant ceux-là seulement qui veulent bien l'écouter, et en fait de punition, ne punissant que ceux qui consentent à être punis par lui, ne donne pas des ordres à proprement parler, mais des conseils ; il explique la loi divine, en recommande l'observation, et laisse à la liberté de chacun de suivre ou non les conseils religieux qu'il donne. Voilà ce que j'ai fait à l'égard des tambours du 19ème régiment, et ce que je fais dans toutes les communautés chrétiennes de la conduite desquelles je suis chargé dans le Mysore. Cependant les Chrétiens du 19ème régiment, n'ayant, à raison de leurs campagnes précédentes, pas été soignés comme il faut depuis une dixaine d'années, c'est uniquement sur moi que doit retomber la punition qu'ils viennent d'encourir, et je serais tout prêt à subir toute sorte de traitemens pour les voir exemptés de la punition actuelle et de la nécessité d'aller désormais aux fêtes payennes.

"Daignez, Monsieur le Général vous occuper de cette épineuse affaire, je vais avertir moi même Monsieur le Colonel Dalgairus que je l'ai remise entre vos mains.

" J'ai l'honneur d'être avec les plus vifs sentiment de respect et d'obéissance.

" Monsieur le Général,

" Votre très-humble Sérviteur,

"(Signed) J. B. BEAUCLAIR, *Pr. M. C.*

" *Mysore*, 30. 7*bre*, 1830."

"*Mysore*, 24. *7bre*. 1835.

"Monsieur le Colonel — J'avais appris que vous aviez défendu de forcer les tambours catholiques de votre régiment d'aller à la fête payenne etc., et j'en éprouvais une bien sensible joie. Cependant une estafette m'apprend qu' hier M. l'adjudant y a forcé le tambour-major et le fifre major, malgré leurs réclamations respectueuses, et fait mettre les autres tambours aux arrêts. En outre on dit que vous partez pour la chasse et que les catholiques vont se trouver à la merci de subalternes. Permettez Monsieur à un prêtre de réclamer, au nom de Dieu, sur un ordre arbitraire et anti-chrétien qui j'en suis sûr n'est point émané de vous.

"Monsieur le Colonel examinez la chose vous-même; il n'y aura plus lieu de dire que les tambours vont de leur propre grè puisqu'on les punit, et menace s'ils ne vont pas à la cérémonie payenne. Ce que je vous demande est dans les desseins de Dieu et du gouvernement. Daignez me faire connaître si vous pouvez me l'accorder ou non.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un vif souvenir des services que vous m'avez rendus et avec profond respect,

"Monsieur le Colonel,

"Votre très-humble serviteur,

"(Signed) J. B. Beauclair, *Prêtre*."

APPENDIX V.

" TO THE SECRETARY OF THE HON. COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

" SIR—I have the honour to request the favour of your ascertaining for me the opinion of the Hon. Court of Directors, whether the covenant I have entered into with the Hon. the East-India Company renders it imperative on me to accept and undertake any office the Madras Government may, conformably to law and to the usages of the Service, think fit to appoint me to.

" In soliciting this information, I refer principally to certain offices connected with the Idolatry of the Country, which I could not feel at liberty to hold.

" I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

" ROBERT NELSON, Madras Civil Service.

" 48, *Poland Street*, *Oxford Street*, *Feb.* 27, 1838."

" TO R. NELSON, ESQ.

" SIR—I have laid before the Court of Directors of the East-India Company your Letter, dated February 27, 1838; in which you request to be informed, whether the covenant into which you have entered with the Company renders it imperative on you to accept and undertake any office the Madras Government may, conformably to law and the usages of the Service, think fit to appoint you to. You state, that you refer principally to certain offices connected with the Idolatry of the Country, which you could not feel at liberty to hold.

" In reply, I am commanded to inform you, that the Court has seen with surprise that an Officer of your standing can entertain any doubt of its being imperative on you to accept and undertake any office which the Government may, conformably to law and the usages of the Service, think fit to appoint you to, without any exception or reservation whatever.

" I am, Sir, your most obedient humble Servant,

" JAMES C. MELVILLE, *Secretary*.

" *East-India House*, *March* 16, 1838."

"TO THE SECRETARY OF THE HON. COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST-INDIA COMPANY.

"SIR—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter of the 16th instant, conveying the opinion of the Court of Directors upon the inquiry contained in my Letter of the 27th ult.

"It is painful and alarming, to find the Court establishing the principle, that every Civil Servant is bound by covenant to assist in, and uphold, the idolatrous worship of India. The Directors are well aware that acts of this nature form part of the functions of many offices under the Madras Presidency; and your Letter tells me that a Civil Servant has no option but to discharge them, if it be the pleasure of the Government to appoint him to such offices.

"The instructions of the Lord Jesus Christ are, to keep myself from Idols, and to flee from Idolatry.

"The East-India Company require me to unite myself with Idols, taking part in their worship, by assisting others herein.

"The commands of these two masters are thus in direct opposition to each other; and I have to choose whom I will serve, since obedience to both is impossible.

"As I prefer to follow the Lord Jesus Christ, I must renounce the service of the East-India Company, which I therefore now do.

"I have accordingly to request that my name may be struck out of the list of Civil Servants on the Madras Establishment; all the privileges of which station I hereby resign.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient servant,

"ROBERT NELSON.

"17, *Norfolk Buildings*, *Bath*, *March* 19, 1838."

APPENDIX VI.

"As a striking illustration of the justness of the views expressed so long ago by Colonel Monro, there will be found, in the Appendix, a Copy of a Proclamation published by the Native Government of Travancore in the course of the last year, 1829, occasioned by some disorders in a district of that country, arising out of a question of Caste relative to the dress of the Shanars, one of the lowest tribes in the Southern Countries of the Peninsula. This Proclamation, while it declares and maintains the established rule of Caste upon the point in dispute, grants a relaxation in favour of the Christian converts of the Shanar Tribe; and, while it enforces a certain service to Government on the part of its Christian Subjects, (for the performance of which they are, however, to be paid,) it exempts all Christians, of whatever sect, from labour on Sunday, and from Pagoda Service. In the same truly tolerant spirit, the Rannee (Queen) declares, that, while all the rights of Government shall be respected by all classes—and that with disturbers of the peace the Government can make no distinction—" the fullest liberty of conscience is given to all her subjects, permitting them to follow whatever religion they may think proper.

" It is thus that a Hindoo Government has set the example of a real and complete Toleration. Christian Natives have long filled important offices in the Courts of Justice in Travancore. Exemptions are now granted, to the lowest classes of Christians, from customs and services incompatible with the conscientious feelings of the convert; at the same time that the usages of caste, as far as is essential for the preservation of public tranquillity, are enforced. The Government thus assumes its appropriate position as the Chief Magistrate; enforcing the services and protecting the rights of all classes, repressing the disorderly of whatever sect, and relieving the Christian from exactions incompatible with the free exercise of his religion and the rights of conscience. This admirable Proclamation of a Hindoo Government of the Nair Caste—a caste singularly tenacious of its usages—is a conclusive answer to all the suggestions of Alarmists, and the remonstrances of the prejudiced, against the concessions for which we are arguing on behalf of the Christian Natives of our dominions.

" In the administration of His Majesty's Colony of Ceylon, where the Caste system prevails among the Hindoo inhabitants as on the

Continent of India, the Christian Natives, who are numerous, are eligible to office equally with the Hindoos and Buddhists; and Christianity shares at least with the other religions of the country, if it has not a preference, the parental protection of the Government.

APPENDIX.

COPY OF THE RANNEE OF TRAVANCORE'S PROCLAMATION; DATED FEBRUARY 3, 1829.

"WHEREAS some disturbances have taken place in the Kulcolum, Yeraniel, and Valavengode Districts, between the Shanars and Nairs, originating in a pretension of the women of the Shanars to wear the upper cloth contrary to orders and ancient custom, and in a refusal of that caste to perform the Sircar Ooleam work required of them in common with other inhabitants; I deem it proper to publish the following Proclamation:—

"1. It is accordingly declared, that the women of the Shanars have no authority to wear the upper cloth, and are hereby prohibited from doing so. The Christian Converts from the Shanars have already been forbidden (in a Circular Order of the 7th Yadavom 989) from wearing the upper cloth, but allowed to wear jackets, called Coopyum, instead. It appears, that a decree of one of the Courts is erroneously quoted as an authority for wearing the upper cloth; but that decree being at variance with the Circular Order of the 7th Yadavom 989, is of no effect; which order, therefore, is now republished, as the only Regulation in force, in this matter.

"2. It is further declared, that all Shanars or Christians from that caste are liable to Ooleam service, like all other inhabitants; but all Christians, of whatsoever sect, are exempted from labour on Sundays, and from being employed for the Dewastanum (Temples).

"While I give to all my subjects, alike, the fullest liberty of conscience, permitting them to follow whatever religion they may think proper, I never will allow new converts to any Faith whatsoever, or any other persons, to infringe the customs of the higher castes of the Country, as established by ancient usage. Good people, of whatever caste, will never make religion a pretext for disturbance; and Christianity being known to inculcate humility, and obedience to superiors, the true converts to that religion are the least to be expected to act contrary to their duty as peaceable subjects.

"4. But, while I am thus ready to afford to all my subjects, without distinction, every facility to follow their respective religions, and to celebrate the rites of the same in a *regular manner*, I cannot allow any people, of whatsoever caste or sect, to erect Pagodas, Churches, Chapels,

Mosques, or other places of Public Worship, *without regular permission*, on the application of the parties through the Sircar Officers; when all such applications will be duly considered, and such spots fixed on as shall not occasion inconvenience to other castes.

"5. And whereas some Shanars, or persons converted to Christianity from that caste, have, on recent occasions, disobeyed the Sircar Officers, and made their complaints irregularly to others, notice is hereby given, that the Sircar knows of no other authority in the districts than the Public Officers appointed by me. All persons, therefore, of whatever caste or sect, who may be injured, or who have just complaints to make, will be heard by the Sircar Officers; when, if not redressed, they are at liberty to proceed with their complaints to the Courts, which are alike open to all, and ultimately, if necessary, to the Huzoor.

"If any of the Sircar Servants act with oppression towards any of the inhabitants, the Courts of Justice and the Huzoor are open for redress: and if any act of cruelty be proved against the Sircar Servants, they will be punished, and be considered unworthy of further employ or confidence.

All persons aggrieved thus knowing where to seek redress, it is hereby distinctly published, that any one who may be guilty of violence will be severely dealt with; for the Sircar can make no distinctions with disturbers of the peace.

APPENDIX VII.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN FOREIGN PARTS, AT BOW CHURCH, ON THE 18TH OF MAY 1838, BY THE LORD BISHOP OF EXETER.

"ALAS! that a Christian Nation should have possessed an empire of so vast extent, so populous, so bowed to its yoke, yet should have made (I will not say so few conquests—that is in the hand of God—but) so few attempts to conquer from the kingdom of Satan, stretching, as it does, over the same, the very same, wide circumference with our own.

"But is this all? is this the worst?—Would to God it were!—We know well, that it is not: we know, that, not content with witnessing, in silent and unchristian apathy, the monstrous abominations which surround us there, we have used our power, employed our arms, dishonoured our soldiery, by making them the guards and outposts of the realms of darkness. We have made an unhallowed gain of Idol Worship: we have drawn—and, I fear, still draw—an accursed tribute from the foulest and most debasing rites that Paganism ever devised. True, some tardy efforts have at length been made to vindicate the honour of Jehovah, in the midst of these pollutions. A Christian Church has been established in India, on that model which the Apostles sanctioned by their example; and under those governors whom our Lord blessed with the promise, that He 'would be with them always, even to the end of the world.'

"But are these efforts commensurate with our power, our wealth, our duties? I will not state the case in all its fulness: I will not attempt to recount the mighty debt of gratitude which we owe to the Author of our greatness—to Him, who, in almost as short a time as the Patriarch thankfully records, 'With my staff I passed over this Jordan, and now I am become two bands,' has given to us an extent of territory in the East, which the generations of our fathers would have deemed it the extreme of presumptuous folly to have anticipated even as possible. But I dwell not on this: I refer rather to the example of those Europeans who have preceded us in the same region, but were not permitted to attain to more than a scarcely assignable portion of that vast empire which we hold. Let us, with shame and confusion of face, contrast their labour, their zeal, in founding and endowing a Christian Church—wherever, and as soon as they dared to hope for a secure tenure of any of their new possessions—with the slow, reluctant, the niggard establishments with which we profess to testify our devotion to Him 'who ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever He will.'"

APPENDIX VIII.

EXTRACT FROM A SERMON PREACHED BEFORE THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY, APRIL 30, 1838.

"AND here I cannot help saying, that Christians, in the present day, have a SPECIAL duty to perform, as they are *the light of the world*, in respect of the countenance which is given, by the Government of our Indian Empire, to the idolatrous usages of that people. A Government, calling itself Christian, still clings to a polluted revenue, derived from the pageants of Idolatry; and even pays a band of Pilgrim-hunters, who shall go about the country to bring together votaries, and swell the attendance on the wretched festivals! The same Government repairs the Idol Temples! salaries the officers of those temples! honours their infamous processions with presents and offerings, in the name of the British Authorities! and, instead of Christianizing the poor deluded idolaters, even COMPELS the attendance at the festival of its own Officers, Civil and Military—(if it so happen, even on the Sabbath);—and prostitutes the consciences of its Servants to do honour to the vilest rites of Heathenism!!

"And, IS THIS (we ask) to be called NEUTRALITY?—odious as neutrality is, in such a case. Is this a NON-INTERFERENCE with Native Superstitions? Rather, is it not, openly and flagrantly to COUNTENANCE their abominations? So the Heathen themselves regard it, as I know from personal experience. The remark was made to me by my Pundit (a learned Hindoo). 'Sir,' said he, 'Christians cannot think any great harm of our Idolatry. You yourselves give an offering of broad-cloth to the Idol.'—My Brethren, this is a scandal which calls for the loudest voice, the deepest brand, of national indignation. This is a wickedness which must call down the heaviest curse of an outraged God upon its perpetrators, and upon all who stand by and allow it.

"The senseless cry of danger to our Indian possessions has been raised long enough. If it were true,—and it is NOT true,—but, if it WERE so, Perish, I would say, the accursed gains, that can only be kept at the price of souls! This cry was raised, when the first Missionary landed on the shores of India. It was redoubled, when the holy enterprise of Buchanan, seconded by Christians in this country, obtained for India, under the blessing of God, an Ecclesiastical Establishment. It retarded, for years, the abolition of Suttee: not the fear of Hindoos abroad, but the dread of outcry among men calling themselves Christians at home. 'India,' it was said, 'will be lost;' and, behold, India is ours still: yes, and ours by a firmer tenure than it ever was; as we hold it for God our Saviour, and the enlightening of its wretched millions."

[*Rev.* F. GOODE's *Sermon*.

APPENDIX IX.

THE CHURRUCK-POOJAH.

"When events of interest or importance, tending to elevate the character of the Hindûs in the esteem of the civilized world, fall within the sphere of our observation, we feel a proud delight in placing them on record: but how deep and heartfelt must be our present sense of humiliation, when it becomes our duty to animadvert upon so disgraceful and abominable a rite as that which was performed, aye (we should say) committed, during the last week, by the great bulk of the Hindû inhabitants of Calcutta. The poor, who compose the majority of the people, are seen year after year, in almost every town of Bengal, to take an active share in the Churruck-poojah—a ceremony which, though unenjoined by the revered text of the *Veda*, or the ancient tenets of the *Dhurma Shastra*, has, owing to long usage, and the laxity of morals in the lower orders of the community, been suffered to grow into an annual festival in this part of India. Now, it is undeniable, that the real mode of devotion, as authorised by the Shaster, does not exceed a few days' fasting and prayer. The processions to which we are drawing attention are altogether unnecessary, as a portion of such devotion. They have come down to us from times of semi-civilization; when a priest-ridden community was to be tortured, that the power and influence of a crafty system might be more firmly impressed and rivetted. It cannot be expected that our Rulers will ever interfere, unless we evince amongst ourselves a disposition that they should: and to make their interference effectual, the expression of our wish should be general.

"On the afternoon of Sunday last, large concourses of men, females, and children, were seen to assemble in various quarters of the city, to witness what they regard as deeds of enthusiastic piety, which were done by the *sunnyasees*. These votaries of Siva were then engaged in the *jhappan*, a species of barbarous absurdity perpetrated in the following manner: after having benumbed their faculties by swallowing *subzee*, *dhootra*, or other intoxicating drugs, or by smoking *churra* (*churus*, *gunja*, and opium mixed together), which operate so strongly upon their brains as to keep these poor wretches for days in a state of idiotcy, and, to a great extent, callous to all external pains. The *sunnyasees* then went to bathe in the sacred water of the Ganges; and, on their return, thronged to the place intended for *jhappan*; where two high bamboos were posted, ten or twelve feet from each other, and one was fastened across their

tops with ropes. Having repeated some jargon known by the name of *muntra*, they climbed up to the eminence; and from there, a height of perhaps no less than fifteen or twenty cubits, they leaped upon the ground; where, to render their fall doubly painful, the space was covered all around with thorns, nails with their pointed ends turned upwards, bontees, &c.

"The second day of the ceremony was celebrated on Monday morning; when the principal roads and streets in the native part of Calcutta were nearly choked up by crowds of *sunnyasees*, and of persons who come to gaze with admiration upon their cruel acts of devotion. Here thousands of our degraded countrymen were seen moving in procession, in a state of inebriety approaching to madness: some with almost every part of their body covered with thick needles (four or five inches in size), the half of each thrust into their skins, dancing, and chaunting, at the utmost pitch of their voice, the most obscene songs which the vocabulary of vulgarism can produce: others reeling in drunkenness, with their tongues, thighs, arms, &c. bored and run through with iron-bars, bamboos, gun-barrels, snakes, &c. &c., which these self-tormenting wretches kept constantly moving in those wounded parts, deeming it an act of the highest piety to shed their blood for the glory of Siva. To render these pranks of licentious folly still more horrible, they were some time accompanied by a troop of prostitutes, who, with their indecent gestures and unseemly movements, sang in chorus the most dirty couplets that could violate decorum or offend the ear of modesty. The heart weeps, to think that there are creatures, claiming kindred with rational men, who are capable of perverting so grossly all the better parts of their nature, as those whose conduct elicited these remarks.

"On Tuesday, the third and last day of the ceremony, at about five in the afternoon, the *sunnyasees* went in large groups to the *churruck-gatch*, or swinging-post; which is a large piece of timber fixed in the earth, fifteen or twenty cubits high: upon the top of this is fixed, horizontally, several bamboos firmly tied together, which form a single compact piece, so arranged as that it can be turned round in every direction: on the extremities of this are attached ropes; one reaching the ground; the other hanging twelve or thirteen cubits above, in the air. On their coming to this spot, one of the leading *sunnyasees* climbed up the timber, and tied the short rope to a hook which he had pierced through the skin of his back; while another caught hold of the long rope at the other end, and, by running swiftly round the swinging-post, communicated his velocity to his friend on the top, who continued in that position until he was relieved by another;—and thus they finished the abominable ceremony of the *Churruck-poojah*.

"We have frequently heard of *sunnyasees* having been precipitated to the ground, while in the act of swinging. Their animated and violent movements, while suspended, causes the skin to burst where the hook has penetrated; and the poor wretches are dashed to the earth, always at the risk, and not unfrequently with the loss of life. There are at least eight or ten deaths yearly.

"These unfortunate beings may plead ignorance and early prejudice as their excuse; but what have their patrons and abettors to say, in extenuation for their offence? Rajah Kallikissen and brothers, Baboos Rajkissen Sing, and Asootose Day, are, among the affluent Hindûs, the chief encouragers and promoters of the *churruck-poojah* in Calcutta. With due deference to their zeal for current, though false, notions of Hindûism, and their regard for popular rites and ceremonies, let us entreat them to reflect for a moment upon the manifold evils that must arise from the impulse they are giving, by their encouragement, to barbarities, the most revolting to reason and humanity. Whatever their form of worship may be, whether adoring the One Supreme God, or resting faith on a plurality of Deities, their intellect, and the opportunities they have possessed for its cultivation, should have instructed them, that there shall be a day of reckoning for every thing done in this life; and it behoves them to consider how they will answer the accusation of having wilfully lent themselves to the wanton and ignominious follies of a blind and cruel superstition."

[*Reformer* (*Hindû Paper*) *April* 16*th*.

APPENDIX X.

COPY OF A PROTEST AGAINST THE RECENT RESOLUTION OF A MEETING OF THE COURT OF EAST-INDIA PROPRIETORS.

To the Honourable the Court of Directors of the East-India Company—

We, the Undersigned Proprietors of East-India Stock, having considered the following Resolution proposed by the Court of Directors at the last General Quarterly Court, holden on the 22d of March 1838, and then passed in the affirmative; namely—

RESOLVED—"That this Court deem the continued public discussion of questions affecting the Religious Feelings of the Natives of India to be fraught with danger; and that the settlement of such questions may be most safely and properly left with a responsible Executive"—

Do hereby protest against our rights and privileges, as Proprietors, being precluded by the above-mentioned Resolution; inasmuch as we consider the same to be neither in accordance with the Charter, or Bye Laws, by which the East-India Company is governed, nor to be consistent with the policy or interests of the same Company.

As Witness our hands, the 2d day of April 1838.

Charles Forbes.	James Jackson.	R. Durant.
John Forbes.	S. B. Brooke.	Edmund Holland.
William Alers Hankey.	J. B. Venn.	Bexley.
Thomas Marriot.	J. Mac Innes.	R. Sutton.
Samuel Mills.	Edwin Prodgers.	M. Bacon.
J. M. Strachan.	William Slack.	Benjamin Cole.
Thomas Hankey.	Joseph Wilson.	John Heaphy.
Alexander Raphael.	John Rogers.	William Nash.
J. Deacon.	W. H. Hale.	William Webb.
John Labouchere.	J. N. Pearson.	J. E. Saunders.
John Poynder.	R. W. Buttemer.	Samuel Weddell.
Thomas B. Oldfield.	J. C. Abdy.	Weeden Dawes.
George Bartlett Hart.	John Ballance.	John Kennaway.
R. L. Latter.	David Nisbett.	Joseph Batho.
A. Gordon.	Thomas Farrance.	John W. Sherer.
W. Waldegrave.	J. H. Pinckney.	John Hardy.
George Forbes.	E. Durant.	Charles Grant.

RICHARD WATTS, PRINTER, CROWN COURT, TEMPLE BAR.